NEW LIGHTS

THROWN UPON THE

HISTORY

OF

MARY Queen of ENGLAND,

Eldeſt Daughter of HENRY VIII.

ADDRESSED TO

DAVID HUME, Eſq;

Author of the Hiſtory of the PLANTAGENETS, the TUDORS, and the STUARTS.

Tranſlated from the FRENCH.

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PREFACE,

By the TRANSLATOR.

THE following ſheets were printed at Amſterdam in 1766, and lately received from Paris: but whether yet imported by any bookſeller, is unknown to the Tranſlator.

As it contains ſome ſtrictures on our celebrated Hiſtorian, and indeed on all Proteſtants that have written the hiſtory of the period here treated of, it is thought proper to make it more publickly known, that thoſe accuſed of partiality may, if they judge it

worth their labour, vindicate themſelves from the imputation.

The apparent deſign of the author is to remove, or at leaſt extenuate, the charge of cruelty, ſo univerſally aſcribed to Queen Mary, and to fix an odium upon the Princeſs Elizabeth, whoſe memory all true Engliſhmen and good Proteſtants have ſo much reaſon to revere and hold ſacred.

The authenticity of the extracts from the diſpatches and letters of the Imperial and French ambaſſadors, now publiſhed, cannot be doubted of, as he refers to dates and volumes: but it is not improbable the ſame ſource might furniſh other extracts ſufficient to counterballance what he has produced.

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The cauſe of Proteſtantiſm, and the high reputation of Queen Elizabeth, ſtand in no need of falſhood, and miſrepreſentation of facts, for its ſupport.

There are many circumſtances brought to light in this performance, that are unnoticed by other hiſtorians, and particularly what relates to Biſhop Gardner, who is here painted in colours very different from what he appears in other writers.

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SIR,

YOU are ſenſible that Hiſtory is a country wherein freſh diſcoveries may be continually made, from the appearance of original pieces, long buried in oblivion, which inform us of indiſputable facts, that either contradict the teſtimony, or ſupply the defects, of hiſtorians.

The exact and complete collection of the Diſpatches of M. de Noailles, the French ambaſſador at the Engliſh court, towards the end of the reign of Edward VI. and in ſome part of Mary's reign, furniſhes us with a proof of this obſervation.

In this collection is found a great variety of important particulars, which cannot be called in queſtion, and are ſuch as have been either omitted or miſrepreſented by hiſtorians.

Of this, Sir, you will judge by the remarks I have extracted from theſe diſpatches, in comparing them with the account given by the moſt celebrated writers of the Engliſh hiſtory.

My motive for addreſſing theſe extracts to you, will be eaſily comprehended, as every thing relating to the hiſtory of the Engliſh nation is in ſome ſort a part of your province, from the high reputation you have acquired in that ſpecies of learning.

If the important buſineſs you are at preſent engaged in will permit you to caſt an eye upon this letter, you will perhaps be ſorry you had not an opportunity of conſulting theſe diſpatches of M. de Noailles, while you were writing the reigns of Edward VI. and Mary.

The public will certainly regret that the particular facts therein contained, were not brought to light under your maſterly hand.

In the firſt place, hiſtorians inform us that young Edward, being ſeized with the diſorder that carried him off, "was imprudent enough

"to

" to diſmiſs his phyſicians, by the advice of the
" Duke of Northumberland, and the Coun-
" cil, and to entruſt his life to the quackery
" of an ignorant woman, who pretended
" to perform an immediate cure; but that he
" had no ſooner taken her preſcription than
" the moſt alarming ſymptoms returned with
" redoubled force."

History of Tudor, vol. I. P. 424.

You will obſerve, that on the 16th of June, 1553, and conſequently three weeks before Edward's death; M. de Noailles writes to the Conſtable Montmorenci that the Prince's life was abſolutely deſpaired of; and that one of his phyſicians had told him, that " he and
" two others were of opinion he would not
" out-live the month of Auguſt, and even
" during that interval he was in the utmoſt
" danger of dying at a moment when leaſt
" expected."

Vol. II. P. 31.

His phyſicians were not therefore diſmiſſed the 16th of June, when they ſo poſitively fixed the duration of his life; and if they were afterwards ſent away, the Duke of Northumberland, and the Council, did no more than what is ſtill done, and will be always practiſed on a ſimilar occaſion.

It is not conſtrued an act of imprudence to call in an Empiric to the aſſiſtance of a patient, when the regular phyſicians peremptorily declare they ſee no means of ſaving him either by the help of their art, or the ſtrength of nature.

II. The hiſtories you have publiſhed are much admired for the exactneſs of the portrait. No writer can exceed you in drawing true characters of every one concerned in the great events you treat of. What uſe would you not have made of various facts furniſhed by M. de Noailles's letters, to give a natural picture of the Duke of Northumberland, who had the lead in the Council of Regency, and who governed England in an abſolute manner during the laſt years of Edward's reign?

Hiſtorians make us ſufficiently acquainted with his unbounded ambition, his bold and violent ſpirit; but they hardly take any notice of that cunning and diſſimulation he ſo often made uſe of to conceal his views and deſigns.

M. de Noailles mentions many inſtances of his dexterity in this art which may ſerve to give a perfect idea of his character.

This

This Duke took all imaginable care to prevent the public from ſuſpecting his deſign to exclude both the Princeſs Mary and her ſiſter Elizabeth from the Crown, in order to place it on the head of Lady Jane Grey his daughter-in-law, for fear the friends of the two Princeſſes ſhould concert contrary meaſures to raiſe Mary to the throne of her anceſtors. With this view, while the King was growing worſe and worſe every day, he gave out that he was better, effectually to perſuade people to believe that he was far from looking upon the throne as likely ſoon to become vacant.

When ambaſſadors required an audience of the dying King, they were refuſed on different pretences, that they might not be witneſſes of the weak and languiſhing ſtate to which he was reduced.

M. de Noailles perceiving they ſtill poſtponed giving M. de Laval de Bois Dauphin his audience of leave, and himſelf to preſent his letters of credence, as his ſucceſſor, repreſented to the Duke of Northumberland, that by this myſterious proceeding, he gave room to credit the report of the King's being in the utmoſt danger; that in order to contradict theſe rumours, it would be convenient to

permit the two French ambaſſadors to repair to court, and that the King ſhould ſeem, at leaſt, to give them audience, by ſuffering them to enter the chamber adjoining to his apartment, where they would continue a ſhort ſpace without ſeeing him, and afterwards publiſh abroad they had ſeen him, and that his Majeſty was not ſo bad as had been apprehended. The Duke of Northumberland and all the Lords of the Council, approved of this expedient, and accordingly the two ambaſſadors went to Court, but were not introduced to the King; however, they reported as had been agreed upon, that they had an audience of him, altho' he was not then in a condition to admit them.

As long diſeaſes frequently afford ſome intervals of eaſe, and a glimmering hope, the King appeared, for ten or twelve days after, a little better; upon which it was publicly ſaid, he was out of danger; and in order to eſtabliſh this opinion, the Duke of Northumberland, who perhaps believed ſo himſelf, carried the two French ambaſſadors a ſecond time to Court, where they were preſented to the King. They found him extremely weak, and tormented by a violent, obſtinate cough.

The

The vain hopes conceived vaniſhed very ſoon, at an increaſe of his diſorder; but the nearer the Prince approached his end, the more the Duke of Northumberland endeavoured to conceal his real condition.

While the Prince was but juſt able to breathe, it was given out that he walked every day in his galleries, garden, and even in his park.

M. de Noailles, ſurprized at this news, and reſolved to get at the truth, wrote to Greenwich, where the King then was, to aſk permiſſion to wait upon the Duke of Northumberland, upon pretence of particular buſineſs he had to communicate to him. But the Duke choſe to attend him in London, rather than give him an opportunity of knowing the falſity of what was noiſed abroad. Vol. II. p. 57.

All this time he was very aſſiduous in gaining the other Lords of the Council over to his party, perſuading them to approve his ſcheme of placing his daughter-in-law upon the throne, in prejudice to the two daughters of Henry VIII.

When he thought he had obtained the unanimous ſuffrage of theſe Lords to the ex-

execution of his project, he gave them a magnificent entertainment, accompanied with a concert of muſic, and invited the French ambaſſador to be a witneſs of their merriment. —— M. de Noailles, who knew that three days before the King was thought to be dying, was aſtoniſhed to find his miniſters ſo gay.

They told him their feſtivity was intended to celebrate the King's return of health, who had been two days without any fever; ſo that his recovery appeared certain. —— But he was not the dupe of their artifice, being from other hands aſſured that he was near his diſſolution.

He imagined the Council of Regency had come into the Duke of Northumberland's
Ibid.p.48. views, and that this rejoicing was occaſioned by the near approach of ſeeing his daughter-in-law raiſed to the throne. —— He communicated his conjectures to the Court of France, but obſerved the Duke *was cloſe and reſerved in every thing*. But his cunning was not without limits; for it appears by his whole conduct that he was more attentive to conceal his own, than to diſcover the ſentiments of others. He thought to diſpoſe of

the

the Crown, becauſe he was maſter of the Tower of London, the Royal Treaſury, and the Cinque-ports; but did not perceive the neceſſity of gaining the people's affection, by whom he was deteſted.

He depended upon his influence over the members of the Council, but was ignorant that ſeveral among them dreaded his tyranny, and abhorred his character.——This ſublime genius knew ſo little of the nation he governed, that he did not perceive they were in general a people unſteady, faithleſs to their engagements, and always ready to change their party upon a proſpect of advantage.—— His plan was to exclude the two daughters of Henry VIII. from the throne; but he never thought of ſecuring their perſons while he had the power in his hands.

He diſtruſted the French ambaſſador, who dreaded, as much as he could, the ſeeing a couſin of Charles V. upon the Engliſh throne, and confided in many of the nobility, who were fully determined to abandon him upon the firſt reverſe of his fortune.——In a word, he was an ambitious man, who neither knew where to place his confidence, nor ground a ſuſpicion; blinded by preſumption, and con-

ſequently eaſy to be impoſed upon, while he imagined himſelf capable of deceiving all the world.

III. In the firſt volume of the French
Page. 458. tranſlation of your Hiſtory of the Tudors we read, that during the reign of Edward VI. the Princeſs Mary his ſiſter *attempted to eſcape with Charles her kinſman to avoid greater perſecutions, but that her deſign was diſcovered and prevented.* This expreſſion ought certainly to be explained: Firſt, who is this kinſman Charles, with whom ſhe attempted to eſcape? Was it Charles V. her couſin-german? If it was him, it ſhould have been ſaid that ſhe attempted to withdraw, and take refuge with Charles her relation; for certainly that Emperor did not then come into England to aſſiſt in her eſcape. What ſteps did ſhe take in order to leave England, (for the word *attempt* implies ſome action and effort) and what was done to hinder her flight? Had ſhe ſet out in order to embark, or had any veſſel been prepared to receive her? Was ſhe ſtopped upon the road before ſhe reached the ſea-ſhore, or was any one meaſure taken to deprive her of the ſhip engaged for her tranſportation?

One

One might reaſonably expect ſomething would have been offered to obviate ſuch doubts as muſt naturally ariſe in the mind of an attentive, and intelligent reader.

M. de Noailles places this project of a flight to have happened in the ſhort interval between Edward's death, and her advancement to the throne. He ſays, the Princeſs had ſome thoughts of croſſing the ſea after the death of her brother, to which ſhe was adviſed by ſeveral perſons, in order to ſecure her life and liberty; and adds, that if ſhe had then quitted England, ſhe would not have found one friend to ſupport her intereſt, or contribute to her return. It is very probable ſhe relinquiſhed this deſign ſo ſoon as ſhe perceived her party was ſtronger, and more numerous than was at firſt imagined; and inſtead of abandoning her hopes to the impulſe of fear and diſtruſt, ſhe found herſelf in a condition to render her power reſpectable.

IV. You have taken great care to remark in your Hiſtory the frequent changes that happened in the manners and cuſtoms of the Engliſh nation. But there is one circumſtance that does not ſeem to have been ſufficiently

attended to by Hiſtorians. —— The new Sectaries that governed England during the minority of Edward VI. not contented with depriving the Church of all the pomp of her ceremonies, and ſplendor of her worſhip, had alſo attempted, as a ſtep towards a reformation, to reduce the womens dreſs to the ſame ſimplicity. They were forbidden to wear any kind of lace or embroidery, and even any thing of colours. —— Mary immediately took off this reſtraint; and M. de Noailles, being at Court, was much ſurprized to ſee this Princeſs, and all the ladies about her, ornamented with *gold lace and embroidery, and dreſſed in the French faſhion with gowns and long ſleeves.*

This alteration, that in itſelf ſeems to be of ſmall importance, became much greater in its conſequences. The regulation that prohibited the uſe of gold lace and colour'd ſtuffs to the ladies, muſt naturally indiſpoſe them towards a reformation.

The privilege of dreſſing themſelves to their own liking, reſtored by the Queen, and of which ſhe ſet the example, could not fail to give them a favourable opinion of the Catholic religion ſhe was ſo fully determined to re-eſtabliſh.

It

It is well known that women conſtitute more than half a nation, and this half has great influence over the ſentiments of the other.

Relieving the women therefore from a law which they muſt conſider as a greviance, was no bad expedient to bring the Engliſh back to thier old religion. And this is the reflection made upon it by the French ambaſſador. Vol. 2. p. 4.

As Queen Mary was extremely fond of fine cloaths herſelf, there was as much of inclination as of policy in granting this liberty to every woman in England. Another effect of this change, was to inſpire the Engliſh nobility with a taſte for the luxury of dreſs, and French faſhions. Ladies of ſixty years old ſoon appeared with coloured gowns, decorated with gold lace, and the nobility no longer went to Court without clothes laced and embroidered as richly ornamented as thoſe worn in France, when Francis the firſt came to the Crown. M. de Noailles obſerves, that the Engliſh nobility *could not take a more effectual method to ruin themſelves.* Vol. 2. p. 146. Vol. 2. p. 211.

Mary's zeal to re-eſtabliſh the Catholic religion ſhewed itſelf ſoon after her acceſſion, and even before the ceremony of her coronation.

tion. But this zeal was at firſt under the guidance of prudence and circumſpection. She quietly permitted her brother's obſequies to be performed according to the rites preſcribed by the Proteſtants; while ſhe, on her part, ordered the maſs for the dead to be ſung for him in the Tower of London, which was not conformable to the Laws of the Roman church, as that Prince died a ſchiſmatic and a heretic.

The Abbé de Vertot endeavours to juſtify this irregularity, by obſerving, that this maſs might induce people to imagine that Edward had, before his death, ſhewed ſome marks of repentance, *tho' unknown to the Hiſtorians of that time*. But this groundleſs conjecture does not ſolve the contradiction viſible in two burial ſervices for the ſame perſon, performed according to rituals directly oppoſite to each other: for if this Prince did, by ſigns of repentance before his death, become a Catholic, why permit him to be buried like a Proteſtant? And if he had perſiſted in his hereſy to the laſt, why was a maſs celebrated for him according to the ancient rites of the Roman church? However that may be, this maſs performed with ſo much ſolemnity, in the preſence of three or four hundred perſons, encouraged

couraged a Catholic Prieſt to celebrate another in a church near Smithfield. The new Sectaries had ſo effectually ſucceeded in giving the people a bad impreſſion of this ſacrifice, that when they ſaw him advance to the altar, a great tumult was raiſed. Some were for laying violent hands on the Prieſt; ſo that between theſe, and ſuch as endeavoured to prevent any miſchief, a commotion was ſtirred up, as was like to be productive of much bloodſhed. The Lord Mayor of London waited upon the Queen, to give her an account of the fray that had happened, and told her that greater miſchiefs would follow, if they perſiſted in ſetting up the maſs. The zealots of the new worſhip had openly and publicly declared they would wtih armed force oppoſe that reeſtabliſhment, and that more than twenty thouſand men muſt be deſtroyed, before one maſs would be quietly performed in London.

The remonſtrance of the Lord Mayor irritated the Queen to a high degree, ſo much as to tell him, that he himſelf had excited the tumult complained of, and that he made uſe of his authority only to oppoſe her will and pleaſure; and that ſhe would one day make him feel the effects of her juſt indignation.—

How-

However, not to exaſperate the Proteſtant party too much, whoſe favour it was her intereſt to cultivate, ſhe ordered the offending Prieſt to be committed to priſon, for having acted contrary to laws yet ſubſiſting; but by her commands he was ſoon after releaſed.

Upon the day of All-Saints, Bonner the Catholic Biſhop of London, being reſtored to his ſee, went to St. Paul's, where his chaplain preached, who was bold enough to juſtify the invocation of Saints, and the confidence that ought to be placed in their interceſſion. The audience were ſo much offended at the preſumption of the preacher, that he was in danger of being demoliſhed by the populace.

Vol. 2. p. 111.

V. It muſt be acknowledged, Sir, that the Proteſtant Hiſtorians, were either unacquainted with the merits of this Princeſs, or determined not to do her juſtice. You will be fully convinced of this, if you compare her picture drawn by them, with the report of ambaſſadors who had the honour of frequently treating immediately with her.—Theſe Hiſtorians, ſoured by the vigorous puniſhments inflicted upon the principal leaders of their party, have repreſented her as an "obſtinate, ſuperſtitious,

" violent, cruel, malicious, vindictive, tyran-
" nical woman, the whole of whoſe inclina-
" tions and actions bore evident marks of the
" depravity of her natural diſpoſition, and the
" narrow limits of her underſtanding." This is, as you perceive, a frightful picture; and ſtronger colours could not be employed, if a fury, or Medea, were to be painted.——But is this repreſentation exactly conformable to truth? and is there no exaggeration in the portrait?

Mary undoubtedly had faults, and, if you pleaſe, great faults; but were they not compenſated by any virtue? Was ſhe born an idiot, without any talent? and was her reign nothing but a ſeries of horror and folly, and her character a compoſition of every vice?

Let us judge without paſſion and partiality; let us attend to the evidence of ſuch as knew her well, and who had opportunities to examine her words and actions. Perhaps we ſhall find much exceſs in the reproaches caſt upon her, and that upon a more impartial and mature examination, ſome qualities may be diſcovered deſerving praiſe.

VI. If we conſider this Princeſs on the ſide of her underſtanding, it appears from M. de

Noailles's diſpatches, that it was not ſo *narrow and confined*, as it is generally imagined.

The account he gives of what paſſed in the various audiences he obtained of her Majeſty, proves at leaſt, that ſhe was capable of ſpeaking with propriety, and always with much prudence and dignity.——When the Seigneur de Gié, and M. de Marvilliers, Biſhop of Orleans, came with M. de Noailles, on the part of Henry II. to compliment her upon her advancement to the throne, theſe three miniſters laid hold on the occaſion to tell her, that the King their maſter was extremely deſirous to maintain peace with England; ſhe of *her own accord, and without any conſultation with her council*, made this candid and courteous anſwer; *that her good intentions ſhould always correſpond with thoſe of his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty; that ſhe wiſhed to live and cultivate peace and friendſhip with him, as the late Kings her father and brother had done, and if poſſible in ſtill a ſtricter union, inaſmuch as war was by no means ſuitable to a woman.*

What ſhe ſaid to M. de Noailles upon the ſubject of her marriage with the Prince of Spain, is ſtill more remarkable. — The report of this match gave much uneaſineſs to the court of France, under the apprehenſion that the

the Queen, in compliance to her huſband, might join her forces to thoſe of Charles V. who was already her near relation, and by this marriage would become her father-in-law.

M. de Noailles had orders to make ſtrong repreſentations upon this head; to which ſhe returned the following anſwer: "Aſſure the Moſt Vol. 2. "Chriſtian King, that I deſire to maintain P. 339. "peace with him as long as I live, being "determined to obſerve the treaties made be-"tween him and the late Kings my father "and brother. Tell him, that, ſo far from "being a party in the Emperor's reſentment, "I would wiſh to ſee a good and ſolid peace "eſtabliſhed between them. I ſhould think "it a ſin againſt God, from whom I have "received more favours than any Princeſs "living, if I acted otherwiſe; ſuch a peace "at this time being the moſt neceſſary thing "in the world for the benefit of Chriſten-"dom."

The ambaſſador made freſh application upon the ſame ſubject; and in order to remove the diſquietudes of the Court of France, "ſhe aſ-"ſured this miniſter ſhe would always pay "more regard to her conſcience and duty, "than to her huſband, who ſhould not gain

" ſuch an aſcendant over her, as he ſeemed to
" apprehend."

The ambaſſador having replied, that the King, knowing her virtue, had an intire confidence in her promiſes; but it might happen, that time, and an inclination to pleaſe a huſband, might induce a change of ſentiments; ſhe, without the leaſt heſitation, anſwered,

Vol. 3. p. 30.

" that whatever power a huſband might ac-
" quire over a wife, ſhe truſted that, if the
" marriage did take effect, God would not
" permit her to forget the engagement and
" oath ſhe had made to her firſt huſband
" (meaning her kingdom) the day of her
" coronation. That this match would rather
" furniſh an occaſion of mediating a peace be-
" tween France and the Emperor; and that
" if theſe two Princes would accept of her
" mediation, ſhe ſhould ſhew herſelf perfectly
" diſintereſted, without inclining to one ſide
" more than to the other."

M. de Noailles ſtill urged, that in order to confirm thoſe preſent good diſpoſitions, a new treaty would be highly proper.

" What aſſurance, ſaid the Queen with ſome
" quickneſs, can you wiſh more ſatisfactory
" than my word, which I am determined
" never to falſify while I live. I have fre-

" quently repeated my declaration, that I will
" obſerve the ſame treaty of friendſhip that
" both my late father and brother had con-
" cluded with the King my good brother
" and your maſter; which I now again pro-
" miſe: and what other aſſurance I can give
" you, I do not comprehend."

You muſt acknowledge, Sir, that ſuch anſwers do not mark her out as a woman deſtitute of underſtanding, ſuch as Proteſtant writers have been pleaſed to repreſent her. It is moſt certain that M. de Noailles, who tranſacted buſineſs immediately with her, had a different idea of her talents.

VII. It is undoubtedly true, that ſhe never abated in her reſolution of reſtoring the worſhip of the Catholic church in England; and this perſeverance is what the Proteſtants term obſtinacy; for as to any thing elſe, it is eaſy to demonſtrate, by inconteſtable evidences, that ſhe knew how to yield to times and circumſtances. She was known more than once to relinquiſh, and take again, the title of Supreme Head of the Church, according as that title might be advantageous or prejudicial to the execution of her ſchemes.

She

She had wrote to Cardinal Pole, to conſult him upon this point, that had often raiſed ſcruples in her mind, and which many Catholics thought to be well grounded. This title, as you know, gave her an acknowledged right to diſpoſe of every Biſhoprick in England according to her will and pleaſure. Her predeceſſors had made uſe of this prerogative to drive many Catholic Biſhops from their ſees, and to put Proteſtants in their places. She exerted the ſame power, by turning out the Proteſtant, and re-inſtating the Catholic Biſhops.

Pole, part 4. p. 119.

Cardinal Pole adviſed her totally to renounce this title, improper for her as a Queen, and ſtill more ſo as a woman. But notwithſtanding the eſteem and regard ſhe had for this prelate, ſhe ſtill retained it for ſome time, and did not entirely give it up till ſhe thought her authority ſo firmly ſettled, as to be able to do without it.

I do not pretend, Sir, here to decide upon the queſtion ſhe propoſed to Cardinal Pole, nor conclude from the conduct ſhe obſerved, that the ſcruples which troubled her conſcience were ill founded. I conſider this affair only as an Hiſtorian, and produce this fact merely as a proof that the Queen was not always *a weak devotee*,

devotee, *ſuperſtitious*, and ſo *abſolutely governed by Prieſts*, that it was impoſſible to wean her from their counſels.

It is well known, that when there are two religious parties in a kingdom, one never fails to brand as obſtinacy, what the other terms firmneſs.

The miniſters moſt in the Queen's confidence, were the Chancellor, the Earl of Arundel, the High Treaſurer, and Lord Paget.

The three French ambaſſadors, who came from Henry II. to compliment her at the beginning of her reign, give no advantageous idea of theſe four miniſters. They inform the King, that this Princeſs ſeemed to be poorly provided with men qualified either for war, or the conduct of government in time of peace: that Gardiner, Biſhop of Wincheſter, whom ſhe ſoon after made Chancellor, was thought the moſt likely to have the greateſt ſway in matters of ſtate, and next to him Lord Paget. They then repreſent the Biſhop as a violent, paſſionate man, whoſe temper was not at all ſoftened by the mortifications he had met with in the preceding reign. With regard to Paget, they deſcribe him as a ſubtle, artful man, who found means to get into employment under

Henry

Henry VIII. altho' his extraction was ſo low as to be the ſon of a cobler.

It is eaſy to imagine a rivalſhip for power and favour between theſe two miniſters.—— The Biſhop had in general the greateſt ſway; but on ſome occaſions Paget's advice was prefered; for they ſeldom agreed in the ſame opinion; and M. de Noailles remarks, that Paget never wanted arguments to ſupport his own. He ſometimes obtained ſuch an aſcendancy over the Queen, that neither the Chancellor, nor the other members of the council, *dared to open their mouths before him*: and this is another proof that ſhe did not always blindly follow the counſels of churchmen, but paid attention to what was propoſed by any of her miniſters, and had alſo diſcernment ſufficient to form her own judgment.

VIII. There was undoubtedly much exceſs in the puniſhments inflicted upon the new Sectaries: but it ſhould be remembered, that piles were lighted, and ſcaffolds erected before her time. The barbarous cuſtom of burning Heretics was not new; but rather ſeemed to be a law eſtabliſhed in every European ſtate, eſpecially ſince the execution of John Huſs and Jerome of Prague, commanded by the Emperor

peror Sigiſmond, and ſolicited by the Council of Conſtance. It was at that time looked upon as the only method of checking the progreſs of hereſy. But experience has proved the abſurdity of this opinion; general manners are much ſoftened, and Princes no longer apply to theſe ſanguinary means, to ſecure the quiet of their ſtates againſt attempts made upon the ancient religion. But at the period when Mary reigned in England, theſe cruel executions, the wretched fruit of an ignorant and frantic zeal, ſeemed to be authorized by law. Such had been frequent in France, under the reigns of Francis the Firſt, and Henry the Second, who were not branded as tyrants for having followed the example of ſo many other Princes in an unhappy prejudice prevalent in their time.

I offer this reflection to you, Sir, with the greater confidence, as I know few hiſtorians who have carried that uncommon merit of impartiality ſo far as you have done; I may alſo add, that you had already adopted it, by a note found in the French tranſlation, page 348 of the firſt volume of your hiſtory of the Tudors, where you judiciouſly obſerve, "that "the ſeverity inflicted upon the innovators,

" by Charles V. Francis the Firſt, and James " V. King of Scotland, was ſometimes owing " to the ſituation of affairs, that did not al- " ways permit them to act with more mode- " ration."——Queen Mary might therefore, without being a monſter of cruelty, employ ſuch means to reſtore the old religion, as had been practiſed by theſe great Princes, hurried on by the force of example, and the prejudices of the age.

IX. Notwithſtanding that tyrannical diſpoſition which is ſaid to have been the *natural frame of her ſoul*, ſhe more than once ſignalized herſelf by acts of clemency and generoſity, which the greateſt part of Proteſtant hiſtorians have paſſed over in ſilence. She remitted to her ſubjects a conſiderable ſum due from taxes laid on by her predeceſſor; and what is yet more important, the recoinage of the money adulterated in former reigns was undoubtedly a work of her own.——M. de Noailles wrote into France September 6. 1553, that they were buſy in reforming the coin, by melting down all the bad, and coining new pieces; and that the Queen had declared ſhe would defray the expence of the alteration.

Vol. II. p. 141.

This

This piece of ſervice, which contributed ſo much to the encouragement of commerce, ought not to be placed in the fourth year of Edward VI. on occaſion of a treaty made with Sweden in 1531.——To anſwer the charge of this undertaking, and ſpare the people, ſhe borrowed of the moſt opulent nobility, and richeſt inhabitants of London, 24 or 25000 crowns; to which ſhe added the fines levied upon ſeveral of the Duke of Northumberland's party, two of the principal ones being taxed at 7000 l. ſterling. Vol. II. p. 136.

X. What I have hitherto ſaid, Sir, is extracted from M. de Noailles's diſpatches, not having any other authority before me. But juſt as I had finiſhed the preceding article, a manuſcript collection of original diſpatches was communicated to me, not leſs important and deciſive towards clearing up the hiſtory of Queen Mary, than thoſe of M. de Noailles.

This collection contains the correſpondence between Charles V. then reſiding at Bruſſels, and the ambaſſadors he ſent into England, a little before the death of Edward VI.

Theſe furniſh many important particulars relative to what paſſed in Mary's cabinet, of

which the public had not the leaſt intimation, and was totally unknown to the moſt ſagacious hiſtorians.

XI. Charles V. knowing that Edward's health was declining apace, and that he could not live long, thought of ſupporting the right of the Princeſs Mary, his couſin-german.—— With this view, he ſent three ambaſſadors into England; John de Montmorency, Seigneur de Courriers, James de Marnix, Sieur de Thouloufe, and Simon de Renard, Bailiff or Lieutenant D'Amont in Franche-Comté, a creature of Cardinal Granville's.

Theſe three miniſters had orders from the Emperor to declare to the Engliſh miniſters, that in caſe Edward ſhould happen to die, and Mary ſucceed to the crown, he ſhould approve of her marrying ſome Engliſh nobleman. At the ſame time they were directed to inform the Princeſs, that if the Engliſh would not acknowledge her as Queen, but upon condition that no change ſhould be made either in religion, or in the government of the ſtate, ſhe ſhould not heſitate to enter into ſuch engagements, and even to give her word that ſhe would pardon every offence that might have

been committed by thoſe, who then in reality governed the kingdom.

When he had notice of the happy revolution that placed Mary upon the throne, he wrote to his ambaſſadors, privately to intimate to the Queen, that ſhe ought to marry, leaving her at liberty to chuſe a huſband; but, if ſhe aſked his advice in the matter, he would give it. July 21, 1553.

Mary had for a long time conſidered this Prince in the light of a father and protector; and, from the very beginning of her reign, had conſulted his ambaſſadors upon the conduct ſhe ought to obſerve. It was by their advice, found in a letter dated July 24, 1553, that ſhe permitted Edward to be buried according to the new rite of the Engliſh church; for ſhe was abſolutely determined his obſequies ſhould be performed with ſuch ceremonies, uſed in the Roman church, as had been practiſed in the time of Henry VIII.

The correſpondence kept up with theſe ambaſſadors was carried on with great privacy.

The Emperor himſelf did not write directly to the Queen, but conveyed his inſtructions through the hands of his miniſters. — He charged

charged them, in his letter of July 20. of the ſame year, to intimate to the Princeſs, to act ſlowly, and with much caution, in whatever related to religion, till ſhe had convoked a parliament, and taken their advice: that with regard to thoſe that had endeavoured to deprive her of the crown, ſhe ought ſpeedily to puniſh the moſt guilty, and then extend her clemency to the others.

Although hiſtorians repreſent this Princeſs as *cruel, obſtinate, vindictive*, and *tyrannical*, ſhe did not immediately adopt this advice, communicated to her by the Lieutenant D'Amont, in a private and particular audience.

She told him, ſhe could not reſolve to put the Lady Jane Grey to death, as ſhe was informed, that before her marriage with the Duke of Northumberland's ſon, ſhe had been engaged to another by a contract *obligatory*, which rendered the ſecond marriage null *. From whence Mary concluded, that Jane was not in reality the Duke's daughter-in-law. She further added, that ſhe was not concerned in the Duke's attempt, and therefore being

* This opinion was urged by Henry VIII. to diſſolve his marriage with Ann Boleyn.

inno-

innocent, ſhe could not in her conſcience put her to death.

Simon Renard took notice, that this promiſe *obligatory* might be alledged in order to ſave her life, but that at all events, ſhe ought to be detained in priſon, as many inconveniencies might happen from her being left at liberty. He added further, that the Queen ought not any longer to ſuffer the Lady Elizabeth about her perſon, becauſe ſhe was ambitious and artful, which, joined to her talents, might induce her to form cabals at court, and raiſe diſturbances in the ſtate. The Queen replied, ſhe had thoughts of ſending her ſiſter Elizabeth away very ſoon; and that with regard to Jane Grey, ſhe ſhould not be ſet at liberty, without taking every neceſſary precaution to avoid the danger apprehended.

The Lieutenant D'Amont having given an account of this converſation to the Emperor, did in his anſwer inſiſt again upon the advice given to the Queen, of ſhewing no mercy to ſuch as had attempted to rob her of the crown, and all thoſe that had contributed to the King's death. He adds, that all theſe executions ſhould be done at once, and after that publiſh a pardon to the leaſt culpable.

That,

Aug. 23, 1553. That, if ſhe could not prevail upon herſelf to puniſh Lady Jane Grey with the utmoſt rigour, ſhe ought at leaſt to baniſh her to ſome place of ſecurity, and have her ſo ſafely guarded, and narrowly watched, as to put it out of her power to raiſe any diſturbance in the nation.

At the time this letter was communicated to the Queen, the Biſhop of Wincheſter warmly ſollicited her to marry the Lord Courtenay; but the Queen, who had not yet acquainted him with her real intentions, was reſolved to chuſe no other huſband, but ſuch as ſhould be pitched upon by the Emperor, whoſe deciſion ſhe impatiently expected.

Ever ſince the 29th of July, ſhe had informed the three ambaſſadors of Charles V. that ſhe had taken a reſolution to die in celibacy; but ſince ſhe was become a Queen, ſhe ſaw the propriety of entering into the ſtate of matrimony, though contrary to her inclinations; but with reſpect to the choice of a huſband, ſhe ſubmitted it to the Emperor's deciſion.

XII. You will have obſerved, Sir, by the laſt mentioned diſpatch from Charles V. that he

he was perſuaded, Edward VI. died of poiſon; ſuch a report was propagated in England, and you have taken notice of it in your Hiſtory of the Tudors, but not as a certain fact. This belief was founded upon what was ſaid, that a little before the death of this prince, his finger nails and hair dropped off; and, upon examining the body before his burial, his toe nails were alſo found to be looſened from the fleſh.

I am ignorant, whether theſe two circumſtances ought to be looked upon as undoubted proofs of his having been poiſoned.

Charles V. exaſperated againſt all thoſe that oppoſed Mary's advancement to the throne, was willing enough to believe it; but his opinion is by no means ſufficient to confirm the fact.

XIII. The Queen was ſo ſtrongly attached to every ceremony practiſed in the Roman church, that ſhe would not ſuffer the chriſm, conſecrated by Proteſtant Biſhops, in Edward's reign, to be uſed at her coronation, but applied to the Emperor for another, which was privately ſent from Bruſſels.

Great debates happened among the members of the Council upon the ſubject of the coronation. Some were for having it performed before the meeting of the parliament, and others propoſed to defer it till afterwards. — The Queen conſulted the Emperor's ambaſſadors upon this affair, who adviſed her to follow the firſt opinion.

In this ceremony, the Princeſs Elizabeth bore the crown that was to be placed on the Queen's head. She whiſpered to M. de Noailles, that the crown was ſo heavy, ſhe was tired of carrying it; the ambaſſador adviſed her to have patience, and that it would ſeem lighter when upon her own. This converſation was over-heard by the Emperor's ambaſſadors, nor did they fail to inform their maſter of this particular, as well as a minute detail of this ceremony. M. de Noailles does not mention this circumſtance in his letter upon the ſame ſubject.

XIV. The Queen, ſteady in her reſolution to take ſuch a huſband as Charles V. ſhould judge moſt ſuitable to her, complained of his delay in nominating the perſon. He had ordered her to be told, that a marriage with the

ſon

ſon of the King of the Romans would by no means be convenient, but ſtill avoided the naming any other. — At laſt, at the Queen's repeated ſollicitations, he directed his ambaſſadors to acquaint her, " that finding ſhe did " not approve of Courtenay, in which he com- " mended her prudence and diſcretion; and " that on the other hand, Cardinal Pole had " ſo poſitively declared, he would not quit his " eccleſiaſtical function for any match what- " ever, he was of her opinion, that a foreign " and powerful prince would be more ſuitable " than an Engliſh nobleman, who could be " conſidered only as a private perſon: they " might aſſure her, that if ſhe thought his " age and the ſtate of his health rendered " him ſtill proper for matrimony, and that if " ſhe could promiſe herſelf any advantage from " ſuch an union, nothing could afford him " greater ſatisfaction than to make a tender of " himſelf for a huſband; but that he dared not " to propoſe one ſo old and infirm as he was. " Beſides, ſhe well knew he had long ago " taken a reſolution to remain as he was; and " though he ſhould have altered his mind, his " declining health would have compelled him " to abide by his firſt thoughts: that this being

" the caſe, he could not recommend another
" more dear to him than his own ſon, whoſe
" alliance muſt be advantageous to her as well
" from the ſpeedy hopes of having children,
" as for many other reaſons which ſhe would
" eaſily comprehend; that on all theſe ac-
" counts, it was his ſon he would recommend
" to her for a huſband; in which, however, he
" left her at perfect liberty to accept, or reject,
" as he did not pretend to lay her under any re-
" ſtraint in an affair ſo delicate and important:
" that ſhe would do well to conſult her own
" mind and inclination, and tell him freely
" and candidly her thoughts upon the matter;
" and if the above propoſal was agreeable to
" her, ſhe would point out the proper mea-
" ſures to be taken, in order to bring the mar-
" riage to a concluſion."

He concluded his letter, by directing his ambaſſadors to intimate to the Queen, not to communicate this buſineſs to any one of her Council, till ſhe had acquainted him whether the propoſal met with her approbation, or not.

XV. From this letter it may be concluded, that before the end of September 1553, the

Queen,

Queen, though reſolved to marry, had not determined upon the choice of a huſband, ſince ſhe had conſtantly aſſured the Emperor's three ambaſſadors, that ſhe would accept of none but what ſhould be recommended by him.

Her miniſters had propoſed ſeveral to her, as Paget informed M. de Noailles towards the end of November. The perſons talked of, were Lord Courtenay, Cardinal Pole, the Prince of Spain, the King of Denmark, the Infant of Portugal, the ſon of the King of the Romans, and the Prince of Piedmont; but without any ſerious deliberation upon either of the parties, becauſe the Queen waited for the Emperor's advice, who alone was to decide upon the choice. Vol. 2. p. 266.

Courtenay was rejected, as not being *agreeable to the Queen*; Cardinal Pole was not in reality refuſed; and if he was no longer thought of, it might be owing to the declaration he had made of not renouncing the character of an eccleſiaſtic.——Hiſtorians ought not to have ſaid, that the Cardinal, "being advanced in years, and having contracted a habit of ſtudy and retirement, was looked upon as quite improper for the hurry of a court, and the intricacy of ſtate affairs; for which Hume, Vol. 1. p. 491.

" which reaſon ſhe did not incline towards that
" alliance; but as ſhe had a high opinion of
" the Cardinal's virtue and prudence, ſhe was
" deſirous of having the benefit of his counſel
" in the adminiſtration of affairs."

Beſides the manifeſt contradictions of ſaying on one hand, that a man was quite improper for the buſtle of a court, and the intricacy of ſtate affairs; and on the other, that his advice might be uſeful in the adminiſtration of the ſame affairs; the letter of Charles V. clearly proves, that it was not the Queen who conſidered the Cardinal as an improper match, but the Cardinal himſelf that judged matrimony improper for him. The remark made by Henry II. in one of his letters to M. de Noailles, is however very juſt, " that this
Vol. 2. p. 207. " Prelate was neither on account of his age,
" or health, a ſuitable huſband for the Queen,
" nor ſuch as her ſituation required."

The Emperor carried on this buſineſs with ſo much prudence and dexterity, as gives a great idea of his genius and penetration; for though he was not ignorant of the abſolute power he had over Mary's mind, he was cautious of ſtraining it too far, and therefore in propoſing his ſon to her for a huſband, he

left her at full liberty to refuse him, if not agreeable to her inclinations.—This behaviour was much more likely to secure the success of his project, than by a more positive and imperious decision.

XVI. Paget, who is accused by M. de Noailles of selling his suffrage to the Emperor, had advised the Queen to marry either the son of the King of the Romans, or the Infant of Portugal, which is a proof that he had greater inclinations to the House of Austria, than the other ministers.

He was the first among them, to whom the Emperor's ambassadors had orders to impart the proposition made to the Queen for espousing his son. For this purpose he had a private conference with Simon Renard upon this subject; for Charles V. had entrusted the management of this affair to him, exclusive of the other two ambassadors, who were recalled, not that he was dissatisfied with their conduct, but because he imagined one minister, of a less distinguished rank than the other two, might be able to carry on the business with more secrecy, and obtain more frequent admissions to the Queen.

Paget,

Paget, who was perfectly well acquainted with the diſpoſition of the Queen, and the other miniſters, inſtructed Simon Renard in the meaſures he ſhould purſue to inſure ſucceſs in his commiſſion. He told him, it would be proper for the Emperor himſelf to write to ſix of the principal miniſters, whom he named, to engage them to ſollicit the Queen to make choice of a huſband, without making yet any mention of his ſon.

Oct. 22. 1553. Among all the miniſters, the Chancellor ſhewed moſt averſion from the Spaniſh match, as the Queen herſelf told Simon Renard, at a private audience: ſhe even went ſo far as to diſcover to him all the reaſons alledged by this miniſter to prevent the marriage. He repreſented to her the inconvenience that would attend her marriage with a foreign prince, and eſpecially the Emperor's ſon: that Charles's own ſubjects ſpoke of his ſon in very diſreſpectful terms, and looked upon him as a haughty, imperious prince. When ſhe repeated theſe words, ſhe took ſome pains to aſſure Simon Renard, that her opinion of him was quite otherwiſe. To this ſhe added, that the French ambaſſador did every thing in his power to hinder the match.

From

From hence it appears that Charles V. by means of Simon Renard's ſecret correſpondence with the Queen, was better informed of her real ſentiments, than the moſt confidential member of her own council; nor was it known to them that Renard had theſe private nocturnal conferences with the Queen, which indeed were not frequent; for Princes have ſo many ſpies about them, that often repeating an experiment would expoſe them to a diſcovery: but when ſhe did not find a convenient opportunity to treat with him perſonally, ſhe had a ſecret method of conveying her thoughts by a letter. The following is an exact copy of an original, entirely of Mary's own hand writing.

" SIR,

" I forgot to aſk you a queſtion the other " night; which is, if you are well aſſured " that there never was any contract of mar- " riage enter'd into between the Prince and " the daughter of Portugal, as was generally " ſaid and believed; requiring you, upon your " fidelity and conſcience, to tell me the " truth; for no other earthly conſideration " ſhould, while I live, induce me to break " the promiſe I gave you, God's grace aſ-

" ſiſting me. I deſire you likewiſe to give me
" your advice in what manner I ſhall open
" this affair to my council; for I have not
" yet intimated it to any one of them, wiſhing
" rather they ſhould make the overture to
" me.

" Wrote in haſte, the Eve of All-Saints.

" Your good friend,

" MARY, Queen of England."

By this letter it appears, firſt, that ſome perſons had endeavoured to perſuade her that the Spaniſh Prince was already affianced to the Infanta of Portugal, by promiſes *obligatory*, which ſhe looked upon as an irrevocable engagement, and thereby induce her to conclude, that a marriage with the Prince of Spain muſt conſequently be null. Secondly, that ſhe had promiſed Simon Renard, and the Emperor, to eſpouſe Philip unknown to any of her miniſters, except Paget; and perhaps even he did not know ſhe had already taken a formal and final reſolution upon that head, tho' he knew the Emperor had made the propoſition to her.

XVII. In order to communicate this project to the council, the plan concerted between

Renard and Paget was adopted. Simon Renard delivered the Emperor's letters to the ſix principal miniſters, which exhorted them warmly to ſollicit the Queen no longer to defer the choice of a huſband, without mentioning a word of the Spaniſh Prince. They all made anſwer, that they returned thanks to his Imperial Majeſty for his attention, and that they would exert all their influence to engage the Queen to make ſuch a choice as ſhould be uſeful to the ſtate, and ſuitable to her dignity. Theſe letters were delivered by Simon Renard, in a full council aſſembled, and in the preſence of all the other members. Altho' no mention was made of the Prince of Spain, either in the Emperor's letters, or by his miniſter, the chancellor, the Earl of Arundel, and Paget, knew that Charles had propoſed his ſon to Mary for a huſband. This the Queen notified to them at an audience ſhe gave Simon Renard in their preſence, but yet without acquainting them with her final determination; ſhe only intimated an inclination to conform to the Emperor's views in offering his ſon, being fully perſuaded this Prince had leſs regard to his own intereſt, than to the advantage of her and her kingdom.

After this, addreſſing her diſcourſe to Simon Renard, ſhe ſaid ſhe detained him as a hoſtage and pledge, as well for the conditions of the marriage, as for the virtues and good qualities of the Prince of Spain; and added, ſhe thought ſhe could not do better than to follow the faithful and ſalutary advice of his Imperial Majeſty.

XVIII. While the Parliament was aſſembled, to deliberate upon what concerned Religion, and the divorce of Henry VIII. with Catherine of Arragon, the Queen's mother, Paget intimated to Simon Renard, that it was requiſite to ſtop, for a time, Cardinal Pole, who was coming into England in quality of the Pope's Legate, leaſt his preſence ſhould ſour the minds of ſuch as were not yet diſpoſed to a reconciliation with the holy See. Beſides his being nearly related to Courtenay, he might, perhaps, oppoſe the match with Philip.

Oct. 28. 1553.

Upon this advice, the Emperor diſpatched an order to Pole, not to proceed on his journey to England, but wait a more favourable opportunity.

Mary herſelf wrote to him, that the Engliſh nation was ſo much prejudiced againſt the holy See, that the life of the Pope's Legate would,

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in the preſent ſituation of things, be hardly ſafe in England: That it was a material point gained to obtain from the Parliament, a repeal of thoſe ſtatutes paſſed in the reign of Edward VI. which totally annihilated the ancient worſhip, whereby religion, as practiſed at the death of Henry VIII. was reſtored: That this alteration was not brought about without much difficulty, having occaſioned warm debates, and great murmurings: That this advantage, however, ought to be conſidered as paving the way towards a more complete re-union with the church of Rome. But, as a matter of the utmoſt conſequence, the Parliament made not the leaſt heſitation to acknowledge the validity of her mother's marriage with Henry VIII. which was a great point gained, and tacitly owning the Pope's authority, who had granted a diſpenſation for that marriage, and afterwards confirmed it by his ſentence. This letter is in the voluminous collection of Pole's letters, publiſhed by Cardinal Quirini. Part 4. p. 122.

XIX. Altho' the Chancellor could not harbour the leaſt doubt of the Queen's fixed reſolution to eſpouſe the Prince of Spain, he often told

told the Emperor's miniſter he would endeavour to perſuade the Queen to make choice of a huſband; but would not preſume to point out any one in particular; and if ſhe ſhould aſk his opinion, whether a foreigner or an Engliſhman would be moſt convenient, he ſhould not heſitate to declare his ſentiment in favour of the latter, as what would be moſt advantageous to the nation, and more ſecure for her own perſon: That the people had ſuch an averſion from being governed by a foreigner, and eſpecially by a Spaniard, that he would never conſent to a match with the Spaniſh Prince, as that nation had rendered itſelf ſo odious to every other, that even the Emperor's own ſubjects in Flanders, and elſe where, could not endure a Spaniard.

Beſides, this alliance could not fail to produce perpetual war with France, who would never ſuffer the Low Countries, offered by the Emperor as a condition of the marriage, to be united to England. He added, that in order to render it lawful, a diſpenſation from the Pope was requiſite; which, if made public, would be conſidered as of no effect in England, where the Pope's authority was not yet owned; and if ſuch a diſpenſation was kept a ſecret,

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it would be imagined the marriage had been ſolemnized without one, and this might furniſh occaſion to call the validity of it in queſtion.

XX. The Queen was ſo haſty and impatient in her purſuits, that before all the difficulties attending an affair of this importance could be adjuſted, ſhe ventured to enter into an engagement with the Spaniſh Prince, which ſhe looked upon as *obligatory* and irrevocable. With this view, in the night of October 30. ſhe ordered the Emperor's miniſter to repair to her chamber, where the holy ſacrament was expoſed, and after having, on her knees, repeated the *Veni Creator*, ſhe declared to him, that, in the preſence of the living God, ſhe gave him her irrevocable promiſe to eſpouſe the Prince of Spain.

Simon Renard ſent the Emperor an account of this nocturnal ceremony, which he certainly did not conſider as an affair actually finiſhed, knowing well that many other things remained to be ſettled, before his ſon could in effect be looked upon as the Queen of England's huſband.

XXI. Let

XXI. Let us now examine the miſtakes committed by moſt hiſtorians, in treating of this marriage, for want of being acquainted with the original and authentic evidences which contain the true circumſtances of this affair.

They obſerve, "that the perſonal merits of "Courtenay had made ſome impreſſion upon "the Queen, and he had diſcovered ſome-"thing of her favourable diſpoſitions towards "him; but that he neglected to make ſuit-"able returns to thoſe overtures, and ſeemed "more inclined to attach himſelf to the Lady "Elizabeth, whoſe youth and talents had "greater charms with him than the ſovereign "power of her ſiſter. This preference was "taken notice of by the Queen, and occa-"ſioned her to be more reſerved towards "Courtenay, and raiſed her animoſity againſt "Elizabeth. In an heretical and illegitimate "ſiſter, ſhe found a happy rival, which "wounded her in the moſt ſenſible part, and "cauſed ſo high a degree of reſentment in "the Queen's breaſt, as evidently expoſed "Elizabeth to great dangers."

From this account it appears, that Mary did not break off all correſpondence with Courtenay

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but becauſe ſhe was jealous of the preference he had given to Elizabeth, and that ſhe perſecuted her ſiſter, not only as an *obſtinate heretic*, but alſo for being a *triumphant rival.*

It muſt be acknowledged, Sir, there is nothing improbable in this: a young nobleman, handſome and well made, makes his appearance at court, where he finds a Queen of thirty-ſix years old, who falls violently in love with, and offers to ſhare the crown with him; but this Queen has a ſiſter ſixteen years younger, more beautiful, lively, and attractive; and he becomes enamoured with her. He neglects the ſeducing tenders of the elder, for the charms of the younger, and, tranſported with love, he freely ſacrifices to her the ſplendor of a crown. The Queen, exaſperated at this treatment, ſets no bounds to her indignation; her neglected love changes into revenge; ſhe looks upon her ſiſter only in the light of a triumphant rival, and the young Lord, as a monſter of ingratitude, ſhe can no longer bear.

This is a faithful image of what is often found in the human heart, and ſuch as happens every day in perſons of leſs illuſtrious rank. It is the ſubject of an agreeable ro-

mance, an intrigue ſuitable to the theatre, and nothing contrary to nature.

But you know, Sir, that an hiſtorian builds upon a foundation widely different from that of a romance, or dramatic ſtory; probability is ſufficient for theſe ſtructures; but the other ought to pleaſe by a recital of what is true. —— Now, the hiſtorians that attribute the Queen's reſentment towards Courtenay and the Princeſs Elizabeth, to a fit of jealouſy, have advanced nothing unlikely, or beyond belief, but they have ſtrangely deviated from the truth, in reckoning as a piece of gallantry, what was always a matter of ſerious policy. As a proof of this,

Vol. II. p. 81. XXII. M. de Noailles had received orders from the King to omit nothing that might prevent the Queen's marriage with the Spaniſh Prince, and to engage her to make choice of Courtenay, who was known to be well affected towards the King of France. At the ſame time it was recommended to him to conſider, that he had to deal with a woman, who, from a ſpirit of contradiction inherent in the ſex, are often inclined to embrace whatever they are moſt earneſtly diſſuaded from; and

Vol. II. p. 205.

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therefore he was to conduct himſelf in this affair with great prudence and circumſpection.

The ambaſſador fully comprehended the delicacy of his commiſſion, and executed it with all poſſible vigilance and dexterity.

He entered into a cloſe but private connection with the family and partiſans of Lord Courtenay, who, knowing how much France intereſted itſelf in his fortune, diſcovered to him all that he or his friends could learn of the Queen's diſpoſitions towards him. —— Courtenay himſelf frequently ſaw the French ambaſſador, and readily adopted his advice, upon the conduct he ought to obſerve, in order to eſpouſe the Queen.

No one was better informed of what concerned the fortune of this young nobleman than M. de Noailles, and his teſtimony is of a very different weight from that of ſuch hiſtorians, whoſe relations are often founded on nothing better than the current reports of their own times. M. de Noailles, in his diſpatches, is very minute in every particular circumſtance relative to this affair, which for a long time was the principal and often the only ſubject of his letters.

From the peruſal of them, you will obſerve, that among the various cauſes he aſſigns of Courtenay's diſgrace, he does not mention the Queen's jealouſy on account of the preference given to Elizabeth.—Could he be ignorant of it, he that was ſo intimate in the family, and ſo perfectly informed of every ſtep taken to bring about the match? And if he knew it, would he have neglected to acquaint his court? On the contrary, it appears, by his letter of September 25. 1553. that a perſon who had ſpoke to the Queen in favour of Courtenay, received for anſwer, that his little experience and capacity for the management of affairs, would always indiſpoſe her to think of him for a huſband.

Vol. II. p. 169.

Soon after this declaration, M. de Noailles had intelligence, from undoubted authority, that the Queen had a *bad opinion* of this nobleman, *having learned that he was guilty of much folly and indiſcretion, a great frequenter of common and infamous women, and followed other companies*, without any regard to that decorum and ſedateneſs ſuitable to the exalted ſtation he aſpired after.

Vol. II. p. 219.

You muſt allow, Sir, that, by *common and infamous women*, whoſe ſociety gave the Queen

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ſuch unfavourable impreſſions of Courtenay, as well as by that *other company he followed*, ſo ill ſuited to the rank he ſought to obtain, can never be underſtood to mean the connections he had with the Princeſs Elizabeth, or that theſe connections, whatever they were, were capable of rendering the Queen jealous.

M. de Noailles obſerves, in his memorial of November 9. of the ſame year, that the Queen's marriage with the Prince of Spain was an affair reſolved upon, and negotiated with much ſecrecy: that Courtenay was entirely diſgraced: that his mother, one of the Ladies of the Bed-chamber, who, according to the cuſtom of that time, lay in the Queen's apartment, had quitted the palace, and reſided with her ſon at Pembroke-houſe: and that the Queen replied to one that endeavoured to perſuade her to marry Courtenay, or ſome other Engliſh gentleman, "that ſhe "would not, on any account, marry Courte- "nay, as ſhe could not conſider him, or any "other Engliſh nobleman, as a ſuitable match, "becauſe they being all her ſubjects and "ſervants, ſhe could not, from their connec- "tions, acquire either honour or reputa- "tion." Vol. II. p. 244.

If M. de Noailles had been acquainted with the private correſpondence carried on between Mary and Charles V; or if he had been informed, that from the very beginning of her reign, and unknown to all her miniſters, ſhe had made him ſole arbitrator of her choice, he would not have given himſelf ſo much trouble to raiſe Courtenay to the Engliſh throne. The apparent favour this nobleman was ſhewn, never gave the leaſt anxiety to the Emperor, as his moſt ſecret letters abundantly teſtify.

XXIII. It is moreover certain, that Courtenay never ſhewed any particular inclination to the Princeſs Elizabeth, till he perceived the Queen had taken the reſolution to eſpouſe the Spaniſh Prince.

M. de Noailles obſerves, that his relations and friends, finding the Queen was determined to marry Phillip, tried to bring about a match between him and Elizabeth.——Although M. de Noailles was very exact in pointing out the faults and irregularities of Courtenay, the conſequences whereof he foreſaw, he does not mention a ſyllable of the preference given to Elizabeth, as the cauſe of

Vol. II. p. 246.

of the Queen's jealouſy and his own diſ-
grace.

Hiſtorians therefore would have wrote with more preciſion, if, inſtead of ſaying the Queen diſmiſſed Courtenay when ſhe perceived him ſmitten with the charms of her ſiſter, they had ſaid, that Courtenay did not make his court to the Princeſs Elizabeth, till he found the Queen was fixed in her mind to give the preference to the Prince of Spain.

It is matter of aſtoniſhment, that the Abbé de Vertot, ſo much celebrated as an hiſtorian, and who had attentively read M. de Noailles's diſpatches, as appears by the exact account given of them in his introduction at the beginning of this collection, and by the titles he himſelf placed at the head of each letter, ſhould nevertheleſs adopt the reports of writers relative to the motives of jealouſy which hindered the Queen's marriage with Courtenay. His words are—"He diſcovered the inclination Mary had "for him, and was indiſcreet enough to let the "Queen know that he perceived it, without "making a ſuitable return. The Emperor's am-"baſſador's, who watched his behaviour, gave "the Queen notice of their obſervations. She "was ſenſibly affected with the diſorderly con-

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" duct of Courtenay, and her inclination and
" pride wounded to the higheſt degree. Her
" ſentiments in his favour began to cool, which
" being obſerved by the Chancellor, he avail-
" ed himſelf of the occaſion, and repreſented
" to her the conſequences of an alliance with
" ſuch a diſſolute young man."

You will readily perceive, that the Chancellor was one who continued the longeſt, and with the greateſt zeal, to ſupport Courtenay's intereſt; and, ſo far from expoſing his failings to his prejudice, he endeavoured to conceal them, in order to exalt him to the throne. The Abbé, adds, " that Courtenay completed
" the ruin of his hopes by his attachment to
" the Princeſs Elizabeth, of whom he was
" exceſſively enamoured. In ſpite of his pre-
" tenſions to the crown by the proſpect of
" eſpouſing the Queen, he began to love
" Elizabeth with all the ardour and ſince-
" rity of a young man really in earneſt, ſo
" that their connection ſoon became public.
" Courtenay ſacrificed the Queen with all that
" imprudence which nothing but a violent
" paſſion could account for, and this Princeſs
" was weak enough to feel this preference with
" a jealouſy unworthy of her ſtation. She

could

"could not be ignorant that ſhe was nineteen "years older than her ſiſter, and, in other "reſpects, leſs amiable in her perſon, if any "defects could be perceived upon a throne. "The Queen looked upon Courtenay's im- "prudent choice as an act of the higheſt in- "juſtice done to herſelf; and the inclination "ſhe had for this young nobleman was "changed into an implacable deſire of re- "venge. She re-aſſumed her original cha- "racter, became peeviſh and refractory; gave "herſelf up entirely to the councils of the "Chancellor, the Earl of Arundel, and Paget; "and they delivered her over to the Empe- "ror's ambaſſadors, with whom ſhe ſecretly "agreed to eſpouſe the Prince of Spain, who "at that time appeared to be the moſt ſuit- "able party, eſpecially ſince her inclination "for Courtenay was nearly worn off."

You ſee, Sir, that the Abbé de Vertót, in this account, is quite contrary to the diſpatches of M. de Noailles, then laying before him; ſince Courtenay had loſt all hopes of eſpouſing the Queen when his relations and friends endeavoured to bring about a match between him and the Lady Elizabeth: that the relation of this able writer is yet more oppoſite to the

truth of facts evinced by the original and ſecret correſpondence of Charles V. which he knew nothing of; if he had, would he have ſaid, that the Chancellor, the Earl of Arundel, and Paget, had delivered Mary over to the Emperor's ambaſſadors; for he would there have ſeen, that from the very beginning of her reign, ſhe concealed her deſigns from theſe three miniſters, and put herſelf under the direction of Charles's ambaſſadors.

But it unluckily happens, that hiſtorians, who, like the Abbé de Vertot, are endued with a warm and lively imagination, unwarily embrace romantic ideas moſt agreeable to the generality of readers, and ſuch as ſave the writers the trouble and attention requiſite to an accurate enquiry and relation, that may bear the ſevereſt criticiſm.

XXIV. It is equally falſe, that the perſecutions Elizabeth ſuffered under her ſiſter's reign, ought to be attributed to the Queen's jealouſy, conceived againſt her on account of her ſuperior charms. This is another of thoſe romantic ideas, which pleaſe the imagination, though not often founded upon certain hiſtory.

The diſpatches of M. de Noailles, confirmed by thoſe of the imperial ambaſſadors, ſo evidently demonſtrate the falſity of this ſuppoſition, that a judicious reader will require no other proof.—You yourſelf have juſtly remarked, that the old quarrel between the mothers of Mary and Elizabeth, was deeply rooted in Mary's mind; that the attachment Elizabeth had for the reformed religion, and her refuſal to diſſemble her ſentiments, rendered her ſtill more odious to the Queen.

But even theſe were not the real motives of the perſecutions ſhe underwent; ſhe brought them upon herſelf by her intrigues and cabals, which tended to nothing leſs than to dethrone the Queen, and deprive her of the crown.

Neither was Elizabeth's adherence to the Proteſtant religion ſo firm, nor her *refuſal to diſſemble her ſentiments* ſo conſtant, but that ſhe frequently endeavoured to ſatisfy her ſiſter upon that article with all poſſible diſſimulation. She reſiſted, with much conſtancy, the firſt perſuaſion of the Queen and her miniſters, to change her opinion, and follow her ſiſter to maſs (as may be ſeen by M. de Noailles's letters), inſomuch as to raiſe ſuſpicion of her courting the good-will of the Proteſtants, and Vol. 2. p. 138.

by their means to excite commotions in the kingdom, from whence ſhe hoped ſome advantage to herſelf.

But when ſhe perceived a longer reſiſtance might bring her into trouble, ſhe aſked an audience of the Queen, and falling upon her knees, with tears in her eyes, told her that ſhe clearly ſaw the little affection her Majeſty had for her; that ſhe was not conſcious of having given her any offence, except upon the article of religion, wherein ſhe was excuſable, having been educated in that ſhe now profeſſed, and had never heard any divine that might teach her another. She requeſted the Queen to ſend her ſome books that inculcated a doctrine different to what ſhe had hitherto read in the books of Proteſtants, in order to try whether the writings compoſed by Catholics might induce her to alter her ſentiments. She alſo required ſome learned man to inſtruct her.

Renard Sept. 4. 1553.

The Queen, who at that inſtant, perhaps, took her ſiſter to be in earneſt, readily granted the books, and the divine ſhe aſked for; and added freſh marks of that friendſhip ſhe had always ſhewn her, calling her *good ſiſter*, and leading her by the hand *to all great* aſſemblies.

——Some time after, the Queen ſuppoſing her

her fully informed and converted, propoſed to her to bear her company to the maſs celebrated on the Nativity of the Virgin. She at firſt framed ſome excuſe on account of an indiſpoſition, and in going ſhe was heard to complain of a diſorder in her ſtomach.

Notwithſtanding her joining in this action with ſo ill a grace, the Queen was highly pleaſed, and continued to ſhew her much kindneſs; and Elizabeth neglected nothing to perſuade the Queen that ſhe was a convert.—She had long ſolicited leave to retire to one of her country-houſes, which was granted, and where ſhe ordered maſs to be performed in her preſence.

In ſhort, when ſhe knew the Queen had aſked permiſſion of Charles V. to obtain ten thouſand marks of ſilver from the Low Country, to replace the church utenſils melted down in Edward's reign, ſhe wrote to beg the Emperor would ſend her a croſs, a chalice, and other ornaments neceſſary for the celebration of maſs in her chapel. Charles V. Dec. 2. 1553.

By this you ſee, Sir, that Elizabeth was not always ſo firm or ſo obſtinate in *refuſing to diſſemble her ſentiments*, as has been generally imagined.

XXV. The

XXV. The Queen was ſoon informed, that notwithſtanding all theſe outward proofs of her catholiciſm, Elizabeth ſtill continued her ſecret intrigues with the new ſectaries, in order to maintain a party in the ſtate.

Two of her principal and moſt confidential domeſtics came one day to Lord Paget, and told him, that though they were perfectly ſenſible of the obligations they lay under to their miſtreſs, and the fidelity due to her, yet their duty as ſubjects to the Queen, was of a nature ſuperior to that of being old ſervants to Elizabeth; and therefore they thought themſelves obliged to acquaint him, that for a month paſt the Princeſs Elizabeth had never ſpoke to them about any of her affairs, becauſe ſhe had placed her whole confidence in a preacher come from France, who was called a paſtor of the French church.—That ſhe frequently admitted this foreigner to private and particular audiences, the reaſon whereof they could not penetrate; but they imparted to him this intelligence, that if their miſtreſs ſhould deviate from her duty, the fault might not be imputed to them.

It was already known, that the French Hugonots, who had taken refuge in England,

held frequent meetings, wherein is was propoſed to provide arms, and put themſelves in a warlike condition.

Upon the relation of theſe two domeſtics, Paget immediately ſuſpected that the preacher alluded to, might be a ſecret agent of a party forming, of which Elizabeth was the firſt mover.

The Queen communicated this diſcovery to Simon Renard; in anſwer to which, he told her that ſhe ought narrowly to watch her ſiſter's behaviour; and that it was ſafer to confine her immediately in the Tower, than to wait the effects of her pernicious deſigns; obſerving, that the information given by the two domeſtics was ſufficient grounds to authorize the ſeizing of her perſon.—But the Queen, who is ſuppoſed to harbour a furious jealouſy againſt her ſiſter, did not approve of this advice; and the only meaſures purſued in conſequence of this intelligence, was, an order iſſued for all French refugees to depart the kingdom in twenty-four days; but ſhe treated Elizabeth with more caution and regard.

She directed Paget, and the Earl of Arundel, to viſit her ſiſter, as of their own accord, and in general terms to open to her the bad

effects

effects of liſtening to evil counſellors, and what intereſt perſons of her rank had in maintaining the authority of government, and the tranquility of the ſtate.——The Queen and her two miniſters vainly flattered themſelves, that by a converſation of this ſort they ſhould at leaſt draw from her ſome part of her ſecrets; but ſhe was too crafty and ſubtle to diſcover her real ſentiments. She ſeemed to be perfectly convinced of the propriety of all the fine maxims they had expatiated upon, and recommended; but they returned back without learning any thing more than what the two domeſtics had imparted to Paget.

XXVI. Altho' their informations did not ſpecify any particular facts, from whence a concluſion could be drawn of Elizabeth's views and deſigns, it was ſoon perceived that Paget's ſuſpicions were not ill-founded.

In order to be convinced of this truth, it is ſufficient to peruſe, with ſome attention, the diſpatches of M. de Noailles, who was the ſpring and promoter of theſe cabals.

From them it appears, that the party of Elizabeth and young Courtenay were in general compoſed of bold and daring perſons, capable

pable of every evil action, and determined to hazard any enterprize that ſeemed likely to favour their deſign.

They deliberated among themſelves about the means of aſſaſſinating Lord Paget, whom they erroneouſly imagined to be the moſt deeply concerned in promoting the Queen's marriage with the Prince of Spain; for they ſuſpected he had ſold his ſuffrage to the Emperor for a ſum of money.

They had likewiſe deſigns upon the Chancellor, who had at firſt ſupported the pretenſions of Courtenay in oppoſition to Philip; but had ſince altered his mind to pleaſe the Emperor, and flatter the Queen's inclinations.

Advice was brought that an inſurrection was hatching in the county of Kent, where it was intended to arm all the ſeditious, who, after pillaging the Palace at Greenwich, were to murder the Chancellor in his houſe. Vol. II. p. 167.

This miniſter took meaſures for his defence, had a guard aſſigned for the protection of his reſidence, and when he went to court put on a coat of mail under his habit.

XXVII. Courtenay's friends were for abſolutely compelling the Queen either to marry

him herſelf, or permit him to eſpouſe her ſiſter: they formed the deſign of conveying Elizabeth into Devonſhire and Cornwall, in order to remove her out of the Queen's reach and power.

The principal Lords of the party told the French ambaſſador they were determined to arm the people, to obtain Courtenay's marriage either with the Queen or her ſiſter; which clearly proves that Courtenay was not ſo violently attached to Elizabeth, but that he was ſtill more deſirous of an alliance with the Queen.

Vol. II. P. 254.

Elizabeth was undoubtedly acquainted with theſe different projects; and it depended only upon Lord Courtenay to eſpouſe her, as appears by the deſire ſhe expreſſed *of being out of wardſhip.*——M. de Noailles declares that ſhe was diſpoſed to follow him into Devonſhire and Cornwall; and if the people could be perſuaded to arm in their behalf, this Princeſs and Courtenay *would have a good chance for the crown.*

Vol. II. P. 310.

It was not therefore the rival of her beauty, but rather the rival of her power, that Mary perſecuted in the perſon of Elizabeth.

If ſhe was ſuſceptible of a ſentiment of jealouſy, at ſeeing a ſiſter, younger and more amiable

amiable than herſelf, this was not the real motive of her behaviour towards this ſiſter.— She conſtantly treated her as a friend, notwithſtanding the ſuperiority of her charms, till ſuch time as Elizabeth became a party in conſpirations, which rendered her culpable.—— It may even be aſſerted, that the Queen waited too long before ſhe put it out of her power to do miſchief, and that ſhe would have acted with more diſcretion, if ſhe had ſeized her perſon, according to Simon Renard's advice, than to uſe ſo much indulgence towards her; which ſhews that if ſhe was jealous, ſhe knew how to ſubdue that ſentiment, when ſhe had it in her power to determine Elizabeth's fate.

XXVIII. How impatient ſoever ſhe might be to accompliſh her marriage with the Prince of Spain, it muſt neceſſarily be deferred till the articles were agreed upon, which unavoidably muſt require much time to regulate and adjuſt.

The Emperor readily conſented to all the conditions England could deſire for its own advantage; and the Chancellor, finding he could no longer prevent the match, entered heartily into the ſcheme, and was the moſt forward to

approve and preſs the other miniſters to give their conſent.

The Bailey D'Amont wrote to the Emperor, that the Chancellor was brought over, and had now only one difficulty, in which it was eaſy to ſatisfy him; and this was, his apprehenſion that the Prince his ſon might be inclined to carry the Queen into Spain. To this he adds, that the Queen gave him to underſtand, that he had found the ſecret to make her in love with the Spaniſh Prince, by the many handſome things he had reported in his favour.

But before this marriage could take effect, it was neceſſary to obtain the conſent of parliament, which was apprehended to be the moſt difficult part of the buſineſs. This numerous aſſembly made none at all to acknowledge the nullity of the divorce between Henry VIII. and Catherine of Arragon, in order to reſtore Mary's legitimacy, but expreſſed much averſion from the match with the Spaniſh Prince. The Houſe of Lords did not openly oppoſe it, but affected to obſerve a profound ſilence; but the Commons reſolved to preſent an addreſs to the Queen, beſeeching her to marry ſome Engliſhman.

The

The Queen, under the pretence of a real or feigned indiſpoſition, put off the receiving this addreſs for ſeveral days; and when ſhe knew the promoters of it were abſent from London, ſhe ſent for the Commons, when leaſt expected, and told them, that ſhe "held her crown "of God, and hoped he would direct her "conduct in an affair of ſuch importance as "her marriage; that ſhe was not yet deter-"mined about the matter; but as they had "in their addreſs obſerved that ſuch a meaſure "was neceſſary for the benefit of the ſtate, "ſhe would conſider, and endeavour to "make as prudent a choice as they themſelves "could propoſe, ſhe being more immediate-"ly intereſted in it than any other."

Vol. II. p. 256.

Vol. II. p. 379.

The anſwer is thus given by M. de Noailles; to which he adds, that it was not ſatisfactory to the Commons, as it was neither ſufficiently explicit, nor afforded any aſſurance upon the object of their addreſs; which was to prevent the Queen from an alliance with a foreign Prince.

Simon Renard, in his letter to the Emperor, makes her ſpeak a more haughty language; and his teſtimony ſeems the moſt to be depended on, as the ſpeeches delivered by the

Queen

Queen on thoſe occaſions were concerted with him.

He ſays, that the Commons being come, the Queen, inſtead of the ancient cuſtom of declaring her mind by the Chancellor, ſpoke herſelf, and ſaid, "that with regard to the "firſt article of their addreſs, beſeeching her "to marry, in order to raiſe ſucceſſors to the "crown, ſhe thanked them for their zeal, and "that ſhe was much diſpoſed to follow their "advice: but as to the ſecond, which "laid a conſtraint upon the choice of a "huſband, ſhe thought it altogether ſtrange, "and contrary to practice; that parliaments "had not been accuſtomed to uſe ſuch lan-"guage to Engliſh Kings; that it was neither "decent nor proper for them to meddle in an "affair that depended entirely upon her plea-"ſure; that ſhe alone had a power to make "choice of a huſband ſuitable to her inclina-"tions, and for the welfare of the ſtate, in "which no other perſon had a right to in-"terpoſe."

To this he adds, that all the Lords then preſent applauded the anſwer.

The Earl of Arundel, in a jocular manner, told the Chancellor he had that day loſt his office,

office, as the Queen had taken it upon herſelf: thereby intimating to him, that if he perſevered in oppoſing the match, as he had hitherto done, he was in danger of being deprived of the ſeals.

This is what the Queen herſelf related to Lieutenant D'Amont; when ſhe told him, ſhe was perſuaded this addreſs was contrived and promoted by the Chancellor; but that he might do his utmoſt, for that all his art and cunning ſhould not induce her to alter her ſentiments: but that care however ſhould be taken to draw up the articles of the contract in ſuch a manner as to remove every poſſible objection that could be raiſed againſt the marriage.

XXIX. The Queen had long continued to give private audiences to the Emperor's ambaſſador, but now ſhe reſolved to act more openly. She ſent for this miniſter at three o'clock in the afternoon, and told him, that for the future ſhe intended to treat with him in a public manner: that this was the advice of her council, as ſhe conſidered the match finally ſettled and agreed upon. Renard, Dec. 17. 1553.

Then it was that the Emperor Charles V. ſent a ſolemn embaſſy into England to ſign the

articles of the marriage. This embaſſy was compoſed of four Lords, diſtinguiſhed by their birth and employments. The Comte D'Egmont, the Comte de Lalaing, Le Seigneur de Courrieres, and the Sieur de Nigry, Chancellor of the Order of the Golden Fleece.——They ſet out from Calais on the 27th of December, at four o'clock in the morning, accompanied by above a hundred gentlemen, under the convoy of two ſhips of war ſent by the Queen. They arrived at London the 2d of January 1554. and on entering the city were met by a great number of Lords, and among them, Courtenay.

Vol. III. P. 13.

Lieutenant D'Amont wrote to the Emperor, that the inhabitants ſhewed much rejoicing on their arrival; but M. de Noailles obſerves in his diſpatches, "that the people "expreſſed ſo little ſatisfaction, that it evidently appeared the occaſion of their coming in- "to England was not at all agreeable to the "nation, as theſe ambaſſadors had frequent "opportunities of obſerving."

I muſt here give the preference to the French ambaſſador's account; and tho' it is true that both of them ſought to cajole and flatter their reſpective maſters, yet if Lieutenant

nant D'Amont was better informed of what paſſed in the Queen's Cabinet, M. de Noailles had the advantage of him of learning the diſpoſition of the people, from thoſe who underhand endeavoured to foment them.

XXX. Theſe four ambaſſadors had a public audience of the Queen ſoon after their arrival. And when they had in form demanded her in marriage for the Prince of Spain, ſhe, after enquiring about the Emperor's health, ſaid, "that it was not proper for a woman either "to mention, or treat upon the ſubject of her "own marriage; and therefore ſhe had commiſſioned her council to diſcuſs that point, "and by the conditions to aſcertain the rights "and advantages of her kingdom, which ſhe "ſhould always conſider as her firſt huſband;"—— ſhewing the ring which the Biſhop of Wincheſter had put upon her finger the day of her coronation.

The next day the four ambaſſadors had a conference with the miniſters; and on the day of Epiphany they had the honour to dine with the Queen. On the 12th of January, the treaty was ſigned, ſealed, and delivered on both ſides.

Jan. 31. 1554. XXXI. Hitherto every thing ſeemed to be quiet in England. Simon Renard advertiſed the Emperor, that the Prince's coming ſoon was of the utmoſt importance, becauſe the Queen, not to act in oppoſition to the canons of the Roman church, would not marry in Lent; and if he could poſſibly come before that period, the marriage would be accompliſhed without any difficulty: that the arrival of his Imperial Majeſty's ambaſſadors had been highly pleaſing to the nobility and people: that the whole council was unanimous in the buſineſs: and that the Controller had lately aſſured him, that ſuch proper meaſures had been taken as would ſecure the completion of the affair, without any diſorder or tumult.

But ſuch a tempeſt was ſoon after raiſed, in oppoſition to this match, as convinced the Emperor's ambaſſadors, and the Queen's miniſters, that they were much miſtaken in their conjectures.

XXXII. Information was given that a gentleman named Peter Carew, whom M. de Noailles and Simond Renard conſtantly called *Pietro Caro* (though no reaſon appears why they give this name an Italian termination) had

had collected together in the city of Exeter eight or ten gentlemen, with a large body of people, and propoſed to them to ſign a letter he had prepared to be preſented to the Queen. —This letter informed her Majeſty that they would not permit the Spaniſh Prince and his attendants to land in the Weſt, as they well knew his coming into England was with a deſign to live at diſcretion, to violate the honour of their wives and daughters, and oppreſs the people; and that every Engliſhman in the county were determined to ſacrifice their lives ſooner than ſubmit to ſuch an odious power.

This news alarmed the Queen and her miniſters; ſome troops were haſtened thither; and as Mr. Carew had not concerted proper meaſures, he was taken priſoner; but he found means to eſcape into France, where he met with an aſylum.——But the flight of this rebel did not reſtore that tranquility the miniſters expected; for they ſoon after had intelligence that the ſpirit of revolt and ſedition was ſpread into almoſt every county, and that another gentleman, Sir Thomas Wyatt, was aſſembling an army in Kent.

The Duke of Norfolk was ſent thither with orders to ſeize him, and put to the ſword

every one that appeared in arms for his defence. But Wyatt had taken more precaution than Carew; he underſtood war, and had in a little time collected together an army of ſix thouſand men.

When the Duke of Norfolk came into Kent, he found that Wyatt had ſeized upon the city of Rocheſter, and was then in full march towards London, and had with him ſixty or eighty pieces of cannon, taken out of five large men of war the Queen had ordered to be got ready to meet the Spaniſh Prince: theſe cannon were delivered up to him by Vice Admiral Winter.——The Duke of Norfolk, not having a force ſufficient to attack the rebels, was obliged to retreat.

Vol. III. p. 47.

Wyatt continued his march to London without meeting with any obſtacle, and in his paſſage took a fortified caſtle, which was given up to be pillaged by his ſoldiers.

XXXIII. The progreſs of this rebel ſo much diſconcerted the miniſtry, that they knew not what meaſures to purſue, nor what advice was proper to offer to the Queen.

Wyatt was within three miles of London before a force ſufficient to check his motions could be got together.

The

The perplexity of the Comte D'Egmont and his three collegues was not leſs than what the Queen's miniſters were under, who adviſed them to get off as faſt as poſſible to Bruſſels, not to expoſe their public characters to the inſult of a mob, inaſmuch as their preſence would only ſerve to exaſperate them the more. Four amb. Feb. 9. 1554.

They would not go without taking leave of the Queen, who appeared to them more firm and courageous than her miniſters. They told her, that if ſhe deſired them to remain in London, they were ready to ſacrifice their lives in her ſervice: but ſhe ſaid it ſeemed moſt prudent for them to retire, and only deſired they would recommend her to his Imperial Majeſty. She alſo ordered a preſent of a ſet of gilt table plate to each, which they refuſed on account of the ſituation of affairs, when the Queen had ſo many expences to defray for her own ſecurity.

Their departure was ſo precipitate, that their horſes, and part of their baggage, were left behind.

M. de Noailles takes notice, that the gentlemen of their retinue were inſulted, beaten, and loaded with curſes by the populace.

They fortunately met with twelve merchants veſſels, mounted with ſome guns, ready to ſail for Antwerp, wherein they embarked in the beginning of the night, as the tide was going out.

XXXIV. The Emperor had already ſent his ſon's procuration into England, when he heard that his four ambaſſadors had been obliged to leave it. He directed a letter to be wrote to the Lieutenant D'Amont, to make no uſe of that procuration till further orders.

The Queen's miniſters, terrified at Wyatt's approach, and the viſible diſpoſition of the people, began to intimate in public, that they never had approved, or even conſented to the Queen's marriage with a foreign Prince, but, on the contrary, had always oppoſed it: but among themſelves they accuſed one another of having, by their indiſcretion, occaſioned the calamities with which they were threatened.

Their quarrels, and mutual reproaches, did not find out a remedy. Some meaſures were neceſſarily to be taken to quell the inſurrection, and ſupport the Queen upon the throne; and towards this end every one propoſed a different expedient. In ſhort, after long debates, it was

reſolved

reſolved to treat with Wyatt, who was already in poſſeſſion of one of the ſuburbs.

The Maſter of the Horſe repaired to this rebel, and repreſented to him the enormity of his crime, and the dangers to which he had expoſed himſelf.——M. de Noailles pretends that he was promiſed the Queen ſhould never marry the Spaniſh Prince, that a complete and general amneſty ſhould be proclaimed for him and all his followers, if he would lay down his arms, and diſmiſs his troops. To which he anſwered, that he would not accept of any propoſition till the Queen had previouſly eſpouſed ſome Engliſhman; that ſhe ſhould deliver into his hands four of her principal miniſters he ſhould name; and that he ſhould be put into poſſeſſion of the Tower of London.

This anſwer being reported to the miniſtry, they adviſed the Queen to go herſelf to the Guild-Hall, convoke a general aſſembly, and deſire the aſſiſtance of the people.—She did not heſitate to follow this advice, and the next day, at two o'clock, ſhe went thither, attended by her guard, and a great many lords and gentlemen.

M. de Noailles, who ſaw her as ſhe paſſed along, took notice that ſhe appeared to be Vol. III. P. 51.

over-

overwhelmed with ſorrow, and under an inexpreſſible conſternation.

Being arrived at the Lord Mayor's hall, where the meeting was appointed, ſhe ſaid, "that with infinite concern ſhe perceived the "diſcontent of her people: that ſhe could not "imagine her marriage with the Spaniſh "Prince ought to excite ſuch a tumult: that "ſhe was very indifferent about a huſband, "and had thought of it only in conſequence "of a requiſition made to her upon that ſubject "by the laſt parliament: that the affair was "not ſo far advanced, but that ſhe was ſtill "at liberty to ſtop it entirely, if it was found "contrary to the welfare of her kingdom, and "the real intereſt of her people: that ſhe "would do nothing without the advice and "conſent of parliament, which ſhould be "called on purpoſe to conſult what was beſt "to be done: that Wyatt had other deſigns "than to compel her to marry one of her own "ſubjects, ſince he had declared, that beſides "this article, he had required the Tower to "be put into his hands, with four of the chief "Lords of her council, and even the Queen's "perſon: that if he was once maſter of the "city, their property, their w ves and ch il-

"dren,

" dren, would be given up to the avarice and " brutality of his ſoldiers: that the preſent " exigency concerned their own defence " againſt a rebel that wanted to tyrannize over " them, and who, if they would take arms " and reſiſt, ſhe was determined to live and " die with them."

She delivered this harangue with ſo much force and majeſty, that the whole aſſembly cried out, Wyatt was a traitor, and that it was neceſſary to fight till death in the Queen's ſervice.—Several flung up their caps as a mark of their zeal and good intentions; and in a ſhort time Mary had a conſiderable army at her command.

XXXV. During this tranſaction, Wyatt was in poſſeſſion of one of the ſuburbs, where he continued too long, in hopes the citizens would declare in his favour, and ſet open the gates. When he was informed of what had paſſed at Guild-hall, that he was proſcribed, and a price ſet upon his head, he removed to the neighbourhood of St. James's, where the Earl of Pembroke, and Lord Clinton, who commanded the Queen's troops, were intrenched. Renard. Feb. 8. 1554.

The miniſters were ſo thunder-ſtruck at this bold attempt, that they ordered the Queen to be awaked at two o'clock in the morning, and adviſed her to get up immediately, take a boat, and make her eſcape, in order to her perſonal ſecurity. She ſent directly for the Emperor's miniſter, to take his opinion upon the propoſition. He told her, that if ſhe retired, all was loſt, and adviſed her by all means to continue in London to the laſt extremity.

The Queen, who was not eaſily terrified, told her miniſters ſhe would wait the event, and that there was nothing to apprehend, if the Earl of Pembroke and Lord Clinton performed their duty. She informed them of the advice given by her council; but they joined in the opinion of the Lieutenant D'Amont, and aſſured her ſhe might depend upon their fidelity, and that they had great expectations of beating the enemy.—Their army amounted to upwards of ten thouſand men; and Wyatt, not imagining them ſo numerous, reſolved to attack them, but was entirely defeated: all his officers were either killed or taken priſoners, and the troops that remained alive and at liberty, run away and diſperſed. Wyatt himſelf was taken, and ſent to the Tower.

XXXVI. The

XXXVI. The Queen's arms were equally ſucceſsful in different counties, where ſeveral commanders were ſent to head her troops, to attack the Rebels, and render her authority reſpectable.

The Duke of Suffolk, with ſome gentlemen of his party, aſſembled a body of troops to ſupport the rebellion; he was encountered by the Earl of Huntington, who had declared for the Queen; and in this engagement he totally loſt all his ſoldiers, his caſh, and equipage.

This Duke fled away with his two brothers, and finding himſelf purſued, took ſhelter in a hollow tree, where he was diſcovered by the continual barking of a dog upon the ſpot. One of his brothers was alſo taken under a cock of hay, and both of them conveyed to the Tower, with a great number of officers and gentlemen ſeized in different places, with arms in their hands; and among them Lord Thomas, ſecond ſon to the Duke of Suffolk; and one Mr. Crofts, who had been an agent to Mr. Carew.

XXXVII. The Queen having ſubdued all her enemies, proceeded directly to the trial of

the moſt guilty. Lady Jane Grey, whoſe life had been ſpared contrary to the advice of Charles V. was ſacrificed to the neceſſity of depriving the rebels and enemies to the government of an idol they wiſhed to ſee upon the throne, and her huſband was executed the ſame day.

The Duke of Suffolk himſelf was the firſt that laid open the ſecrets of the conſpiracy: he wrote his confeſſion, ſent it to the Queen, and implored her pardon; and declared that the intention of the conſpirators was nothing leſs than to place Elizabeth upon the throne.

Wyatt, without any interrogation, or being put to the rack, accuſed Courtenay, and many others, of being concerned in the plot.

Care was taken to intercept the French ambaſſador's letters, which were deciphered, and confirmed all the ſuſpicions entertained againſt Elizabeth and Courtenay; and by theſe letters, now printed, it is clearly ſeen that thoſe ſuſpicions were not ill founded. Courtenay was ſeized at the Earl of Suſſex's houſe, and committed to the Tower.

Renard. Feb. 24. 1554. Elizabeth was at this period indiſpoſed at her country reſidence, whither phyſicians were ſent to examine into the ſtate of her health, ac-

accompanied by two Lords, who had orders to bring her away by force, if the phyſicians judged her in a condition to be removed.—— She arrived at London on the 23d of February, in an open litter, in order to ſhew herſelf to the people, and affected a white dreſs as a mark of her innocence.

She was obſerved to look very pale; but aſſumed a bold and haughty air, the better to conceal her grief and anxiety.

She deſired to be admitted to the Queen; but Mary ordered her to be told, that ſhe would not ſee her till ſhe could juſtify herſelf.

In the mean time ſhe was confined to her houſe, under the guard of two gentlemen, two women of her bed-chamber, and four domeſtics to attend her. The reſt of her attendants were lodged without the city.

XXXVIII. The Emperor, who had an exact account ſent him of what was tranſacted in England, finding the Queen had recovered her authority, thought it prudent to put the finiſhing ſtroke to this marriage.—He commiſſioned the Comte D'Egmont to attend this Princeſs with

with the ratification of the articles, his ſons procuration, and to eſpouſe her in his name.

At the ſame time he had directions to acquaint the Queen that the Emperor adviſed her to put to death all that were guilty, eſpecially the heads of the conſpiracy, without ſparing even Courtenay or Elizabeth, if ſufficient proof could be found againſt them. And if the evidence of their being concerned in it was not poſitive enough to affect their lives agreeable to the Law, ſhe ſhould, under ſome pretence or other, contrive to ſend the Princeſs to the Court at Bruſſels, in order to remove her to a diſtance from England. That as a diſcovery had been made of the miſchievous practices of the French ambaſſador, it would be prudent either to ſend him back into France, or to detain him under a guard, till the King his maſter ſhould recall him. In the mean time, that monarch ſhould be acquainted, that the law of nations ſufficiently authorized the moſt rigorous proceedings againſt a miniſter that had forfeited the privileges annexed to his character, by the troubles and commotions he had fomented in the ſtate; but that, out of reſpect to his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, they had proceeded no further than to prevent the bad conſequences

ſequences of his machinations: that if his Majeſty ſhould think proper to ſend another ambaſſador in his room, he was earneſtly requeſted to make choice of a man endued with more diſcretion, and of a leſs turbulent diſpoſition.

In the ſame letter the Emperor adviſed the Queen to act in like manner towards the Venetian ambaſſador, who had been cloſely connected with M. de Noailles in all their ſchemes to defeat the match with the Prince of Spain. But the apprehenſion that ſuch a ſpirited behaviour might engage the nation in a war with France, which they choſe to avoid, obliged the Queen and her council to diſſemble their diſlike of theſe two ambaſſadors, and contented themſelves with writing to their maſters to requeſt they might be recalled.

The Comte D'Egmont had orders, that ſo ſoon as he had received the ratification of the articles, and eſpouſed the Queen as proxy for the Spaniſh Prince, to ſet out for Spain, and preſs the Prince's departure for England; with this advice, to carry with him only ſuch diſcreet and prudent perſons as would conform to the cuſtoms and manners of the Engliſh nation.

XXXIX. When

XXXIX. When the Comte D'Egmont arrived at London, the Queen ſent the Lord High Admiral, and the Earl of Pembroke, to compliment him on her part; and the next day, at three o'clock, he had his firſt audience of her Majeſty, in the preſence of all her miniſters.

He preſented the Emperor's letter, with the ratifications, and the Prince's procuration; at the ſame time beſeeching the Queen would be pleaſed, on her part, to confirm the articles agreed on between them.

Mary, in anſwer, ſaid, that ſhe moſt humbly thanked his Imperial Majeſty for the continuance of his great affection, and the honour conferred upon her; and added, that the alliance in queſtion was ſo honourable and advantageous to her kingdom, that ſhe was fully reſolved to ratify all ſhe had promiſed; and had directed her miniſters to regulate and ſettle with him all the forms requiſite for the accompliſhment of her engagements.

Renard. March 4. 1554.

After this audience, the Comte D'Egmont withdrew into the Council-chamber along with the Queen's miniſters.

He was accompanied by the Lieutenant D'Amont, who repreſented to them how ne-

ceſſary it was to provide ample ſecurity of the Prince, who was on the point of delivering up his perſon into their hands.

The Comte had a ſecond audience of the Queen, at which he communicated to her the Emperor's advice in relation to the conduct ſhe ought to obſerve towards the conſpirators, whoſe trials were then carrying on; particularly with regard to Courtenay and the Princeſs Elizabeth, who were confined in the Tower. M. Noailles. Vol. II. P. 142.

He alſo mentioned the affair of the French, and Venetian ambaſſadors, purſuant to the Emperor's inſtructions. She told him that ſhe and her council were uſing all poſſible diligence to diſcover the truth of what concerned Courtenay and the Lady Elizabeth: That the former, by the evidence of ſeveral other priſoners, had already been convicted of being privy to, and abetting, the rebellion; that he had carried on a ſecret correſpondence with Peter Carew, by means of a cypher cut on a guitar, about his marriage with Elizabeth; that the Princeſs was that day to be examined by the Chancellor, the Earl of Arundel, and Paget, and from her anſwers they ſhould ſee what was proper to be done.——That Lord Ruſſel's ſon, who was a priſoner in his father's houſe, had already de- Renard. Mar. 8. 1554.

 clared,

clared, that during the rebellion he had received letters from Wyatt, directed to the Lady Elizabeth, which he conveyed to her: That the other priſoners ſhould certainly be condemned and executed before ſhe quitted London, to keep her Eaſter at Windſor, and hold a parliament at Oxford: That, in ſhort, before her departure from London, ſhe would leave ſufficient directions to guard the priſoners, and provide for the ſecurity of the City. ——Re-aſſuming the ſubject of her marriage, ſhe added, that her word was already given to marry the Prince of Spain, which ſhe looked upon as irrevocable, being declared before the holy ſacrament, and in the preſence of M. D'Amont; that if any further ſtipulations were yet neceſſary to confirm what had been hitherto done, ſhe was willing and ready to perform it; and that ſhe hoped, by the help of God and her Council, to provide ample ſecurity for the Prince of Spain, whoſe perſon was infinitely dear and precious to her; and that at his arrival in England, he would find ſuch a diſpoſition in the people to receive him, as would afford him entire ſatisfaction.

Two days after, the high Admiral and the Earl of Pembroke conducted the Comte D'Egmont,

mont, and the Bailey D'Amont, to a room where the holy ſacrament was expoſed, where they found the Queen with her Council. So ſoon as they arrived, the Queen kneeled down and ſaid, She took God for a witneſs that her conſent to marry the Prince of Spain did not proceed from any motive *of concupiſcence, or carnal affection*, but ſolely for the honour and benefit of her kingdom, and the peace and tranquility of her ſubjects; and that this marriage ſhould never hinder her from inviolably obſerving the oath ſhe had taken at her coronation.

She pronounced this diſcourſe with ſo much grace and dignity, that the aſſembly were moved ſo as even to ſhed tears.

The exchange of the ratifications, and the uſual oaths on theſe occaſions, were taken on both ſides; after which the Biſhop of Wincheſter received what was, at that time, called *the words of gift*, which were intelligibly pronounced by the Comte D'Egmont and the Queen, to whom the Comte preſented a ring of great value, ſent by the Emperor to his daughter-in-law.

After this ceremony was over, the Queen again kneeled down, and requeſted all preſent

to join with her in their ſupplications to God, that he would be pleaſed to give her grace faithfully to perform all the promiſes ſhe had made, and to render her marriage happy and advantageous to her people.

The Comte D'Egmont having executed the commiſſion entruſted to him by the Prince's procuration, ſet out immediately for Spain, in order to conduct Philip into England.

Renard. March 1. 1554.

XL. The trials of the conſpirators was carried on with great vigor. Wyatt was confronted with Courtenay, and maintained that he was concerned in the rebellion: That it was undertaken in his behalf, with a view to ſupport his deſign of eſpouſing the Lady Elizabeth, and with her to get poſſeſſion of the throne: adding, that he was as great, or even a greater traitor than himſelf.

Courtenay conſtantly denied the charge; but Wyatt's accuſation was corroborated by ſo many circumſtances, and ſo many other depoſitions, that his pernicious deſigns were clearly manifeſted.

The ſame evidence was equally ſtrong againſt the Princeſs Elizabeth, though ſhe had taken more precaution to diſguiſe her intentions.

But

But how deſirous ſoever the miniſters might be to find proofs ſufficient to condemn them to death, they both eſcaped the puniſhment they deſerved; becauſe the Law enacted in the laſt parliament did not inflict the pains of death upon ſuch as were merely privy to, and approved of the treaſon; but only upon thoſe who were active in carrying the crime into execution, either by taking up arms, or directly and perſonally aſſiſting thoſe that had: all others were, according to this law, to be puniſhed in a leſs rigorous manner. And as neither Courtenay nor Elizabeth had appeared in any ſhape to have joined the rebels, they could not be included within the meaning and intention of the act.

The firſt had always remained about the Queen's perſon, and had even ſerved in her army at the engagement near St. James's; but with ſo little zeal and courage, that it was taken notice of. Elizabeth was confined by an indiſpoſition at her houſe in the country.

Theſe circumſtances ſaved their lives; otherwiſe they would certainly have been beheaded, which Elizabeth expected, as ſhe afterwards confeſſed to M. de Caſtellan. Caſtellan, Vol. I.

From

From this detail of facts, extracted out of the moſt pure and authentic ſources, I leave you to judge, Sir, whether hiſtorians could truly report, that Elizabeth was envied by Mary only on account of her ſuperior charms; and that her being committed to the Tower, tho' innocent, was owing merely to a fit of jealouſy in the Queen.

You ſee that Elizabeth lived in tranquility, while ſhe rivalled her ſiſter only in point of beauty, and did not become unhappy till ſhe dared to be a competitor with her for the crown.

XLI. Great debates divided the council, whether the Princeſs ſhould be ſent to the Tower, or only confined to, and examined in her own houſe. Some urged, that a proper regard ſhould be paid to the rank ſhe held in the kingdom, and repreſented that ſhe might be kept, examined, and even confronted in her own houſe, without the leaſt neceſſity of ſending her to the Tower. They even pretended that, according to the Laws of England, the proofs brought againſt her were not ſufficient to authorize the impriſonment of any perſon, much leſs one of her elevated rank.

But

But the Chancellor was poſitive and abſolute for her commitment, ſaying, the evidence againſt her was enough to juſtify their proceedings, without ſwerving from the letter or meaning of the law.

The diſpute was long and violent. At length, the Queen perceiving her miniſters could not agree upon the matter, ſaid to thoſe that differed in opinion from the Chancellor, that ſince they thought it contrary to law to commit her ſiſter to the Tower, it was at leaſt convenient and neceſſary that one of them ſhould take charge of her in her own houſe, and become reſponſible for her behaviour and perſon.

As not one among them choſe to accept of ſuch a commiſſion, it was determined to convey Elizabeth to the Tower by water, at a time the leaſt likely to be obſerved by the populace. But when they came, at the hour appointed, to execute their plan, ſhe inſiſted, that ſuch a warrant could be granted only by the Chancellor, who intended to diſpoſe of her perſon without the Queen's knowledge: that ſhe abſolutely demanded leave to ſpeak to her Majeſty; and if this favour was refuſed her, that ſhe might at leaſt be permitted to

write her a letter; which laſt was allowed. By this delay ſhe gained ſome reſpite; and the tide being ſpent while ſhe was writing, they were obliged to poſtpone the ſending her to the Tower till the next day.

The Queen was highly diſpleaſed at this diſappointment, and complained ſhe was ill ſerved by her miniſters; obſerving that ſuch a remiſſneſs would not have been borne in her father's time, who no ſooner gave his order than it was punctually performed, no miniſter daring to defer the execution of it.

XLII. Though the Chancellor was ſo poſitive for ſending the Princeſs to the Tower, yet when he had examined the evidence upon the caſe, he conſtantly maintained, that, according to the words of the act, neither ſhe nor Lord Courtenay had incurred the penalty of death: but the Queen and the other miniſters were of quite contrary ſentiments.——Mary thought them both ſufficiently guilty to merit death, but would not venture to exerciſe ſuch a power without the authority of an expreſs ſtatute. She therefore contented herſelf with confining Elizabeth in the caſtle of Woodſtock,

ſtock, and Courtenay to Fotheringay, where they were very cloſely guarded.

From hence it appears the Chancellor ſaved their lives, not from a conviction of their innocence, but becauſe neither of them came within the meaning of the late act.

This prelate was accuſed, both to the Queen and Emperor, of having favoured the two guilty perſons, from a former friendſhip he had for Courtenay, and the party that adhered to Elizabeth: that he had conveyed away ſuch witneſſes as could have proved againſt them much more material matters than had hitherto been produced: In ſhort, of having given notice to Courtenay of what the witneſſes, who were examined, had to charge him with at the confrontation, that he might be the better prepared for his anſwers.

But theſe accuſations, ariſing ſolely from the jealouſy of the other miniſters, fell of themſelves; and he always maintained the ſame credit and power.

XLIII. Moſt of the other conſpirators, that were found under arms, were either hanged, or beheaded. This was the fate of the Duke of Suffolk, Lord Thomas his ſon, and many

other noblemen and gentlemen of his party. Nothing was ſeen in London but gibbets and ſcaffolds.

Renard. Feb. 24. 1554. The Queen pardoned the people of Kent, and contented herſelf with the execution of about a hundred of the moſt culpable.

Renard. Feb. 17. 1554. More than two hundred ſoldiers, taken in the engagement near St. James's, were, with their officers, likewiſe puniſhed with death. The Emperor Charles V. had an account ſent him of theſe executions, which he approved of, and had even recommended.

Noailles. Vol. III. p. 154. Wyatt was beheaded, and in his ſpeech upon the ſcaffold, according to the cuſtom in England, retracted all he had ſaid upon his examination againſt Elizabeth and Courtenay.—This public recantation made a great impreſſion upon the minds of the people, and is conſidered by hiſtorians as a deciſive proof of their innocence.

But you have ſeen that, independent of his teſtimony, there were ſufficient proofs of their ſecret intelligence with the rebels.

The Chancellor was looked upon as the principal author of theſe frequent executions. Moſt of the other miniſters, in order to leſſen his credit, threw all the blame upon him, and,

in

in a body, went one day to the Queen while ſhe was at her private devotions, to beſeech her to ſpare the blood of her ſubjects, as ſuch repeated executions rendered her perſon odious to the nation. She was ſo much affected by their remonſtrance, that ſhe immediately pardoned ſix gentlemen who had been conveyed into the county of Kent, to be there executed.

XLIV. Altho' the party of the conſpirators ſeemed to be entirely ſubdued, the people in London continued to ſhew glaring marks of their averſion from the Prince of Spain, of which the following is a ſingular inſtance.

Two or three hundred children, when they came out of ſchool, formed themſelves into two parties; one was called *the King's and Wyatt's army*, and the other, for the *Spaniſh Prince and the Queen of England*. Theſe two troops engaged each other with ſo much fury, that the battle laſted longer, and was more bloody, than could have been expected from perſons of their age; nor did it ceaſe till he that repreſented the Spaniſh Prince was taken priſoner. They conveyed him directly to a gibbet, and hung him up ſo long, that he

Noailles. Vol. III. p. 129.

muſt have been ſoon ſtrangled if he had not been reſcued. When he was taken down, the impreſſion made by the halter round his neck was ſo viſible, that it did not grow out till long after.

The Queen, provoked at this ridiculous and tragical ſcene, commanded the youngeſt of theſe children to be chaſtiſed in proportion to their age, and the elder to be committed to priſon.——

Another circumſtance ſtill more ſingular, is the noiſe that two impoſtors made in London, contrived by the new ſectaries to raiſe an inſurrection among the people.——A man and a woman gave out that a celeſtial voice was heard in their houſe, which anſwered diſtinctly to every queſtion propoſed through a wall: That when it was ſaid, *God ſave Queen Mary*, the voice made no anſwer; but when it was ſaid, *God ſave the Lady Elizabeth*, it anſwered *Amen*: That when it was aſked, *What was the Maſs*, it anſwered, *Idolatry*.

This impoſture was ſoon ſpread all over London, ſo that five or ſix thouſand perſons, at eleven o'clock in the morning, were collected together before the houſe, to be witneſſes of ſuch a wonderful prodigy,

The council were obliged to ſend the High Admiral, and the Captain of the Guard, to diſperſe the multitude.

The man and woman, that had carried on this impoſition, were committed to priſon, and the phantom ſoon after diſappeared. But it ſtill ſerved to ſhew the temper and malice of the party that were the contrivers of the plan, in order to animate the people againſt the government.

XLV. During this time the Emperor Charles V. was not free from anxiety. He was ſenſible that the generality of the Engliſh nation had a rooted averſion from his ſon's marriage: That the miniſters were divided among themſelves; and that the fidelity of ſeveral of them was ſuſpected. He was afraid to expoſe the Spaniſh Prince to the fury of a people, whom he believed capable of the greateſt violence and blackeſt deſigns: He was above all things deſirous to provide for his ſafety; and it was difficult to obtain ſuch aſſurances as might make him eaſy in that reſpect. He conſtantly inſiſted upon that article in all the diſpatches ſent to his ambaſſador, and this miniſter wrote him ſuch an anſwer as was much

Emperor. March 7. 1554.

much more likely to increaſe, than diſſipate his fears.

Renard. March 14. 1554. "When I conſider, ſays he, the preſent "ſituation of affairs, both with reſpect to the "Queen and the nation; the confuſion oc- "caſioned about religion, the perpetual quar- "rels among the miniſters, and the ſeparate "intereſts that give riſe to theſe diſputes; the "character of the nation, fond of change and "revolutions, who ſport with the violation of "an oath and betraying their maſters; their "natural averſion from foreigners, and eſpe- "cially from the Spaniards; the precarious "dependance upon their promiſes and friend- "ſhip; my mind is ſo much confuſed and "diſordered, that I cannot perceive any means "to give your Imperial Majeſty that perfect "aſſurance you ſeem to require; ſo that I am "ready to ſink under the weight of your "commands. At the ſame time I perceive "that matters are at preſent carried too far to "recede, and that we muſt be content to "build upon hopes, without requiring ſuch "pledges and ſecurities as never can be ob- "tained."

Renard. March 8. 1554. By another letter he had already informed the Emperor, that almoſt all the Engliſh were *faith-*

faithleſs, licentious, perplexed and undetermined in matters of religion, falſe, perfidious, inconſtant, and jealous; who held all ſtrangers in abhorrence, and deteſted the authority of government.

The Engliſh nation, in our days, would not be known by this portrait. The reſemblance might be ſtriking enough in the age when the ambaſſador wrote, which was, in many reſpects, ſavage and barbarous; but 'tis well known that time alters the tempers and inclinations of nations, as men change by age.

XLVI. Cardinal Pole now reſided at Bruſſels, in quality of the Pope's Legate commiſſioned to bring about a peace between France and the Emperor. A Divine, connected with him, addreſſed a long letter to the Queen, adviſing her not to marry. He enforced this advice by a number of quotations out of the Old and New Teſtament, and repeated ten or twelve times over, that by entering into matrimony ſhe ſubjected herſelf to the power of a huſband, and that at her age ſhe could not expect to have children without manifeſt danger of her life.

This

This letter was ſuſpected to be wrote by the Cardinal's direction; but, according to all appearance, from the ſituation the marriage affair was then in, Mary found in herſelf leſs inclination than ever to adopt this advice, and probably paid very little attention to it.

M. de Noailles aſſures us, that the Emperor was much diſpleaſed with the Cardinal, for having, as he imagined, ſent an expreſs to the Pope, to diſſuade him from granting the Queen the permiſſion ſhe intended to requeſt, *viz.* to leave the church-lands in the hands of ſuch lay perſons as had been long in their poſſeſſion.

Vol. III. p. 217. Charles V. was ſo much diſguſted at this report, that he wrote to the Pope to deſire he would recall the Cardinal, and deprive him of his legatine power; aſſigning as a reaſon, that he was totally ignorant of worldly affairs, and by no means proper to carry on a buſineſs of ſuch importance as a treaty of peace, which his Holineſs had empowered him to negotiate between the two crowns.

But the Pope was too well acquainted with the Cardinal's prudence to ſacrifice him readily to the Emperor's reſentment, which was owing to a haſty ſtart of paſſion; and Pole himſelf, who

who knew when to yield to times and circumſtances, no longer perſiſted in his project of compelling the Engliſh to a reſtitution of church lands, which would infallibly have rendered the preſent owners averſe from the Catholic Religion they ſo earneſtly wiſhed to reſtore.

XLVII. The parliament being met at Oxford, the Chancellor required, firſt, that they ſhould paſs an act to inſure the crown to the Queen and her ſucceſſors, and to retain all her ſubjects in due obedience to her power. Secondly, He declared, that marriage, both by human and divine law, was a matter ſo free of itſelf, that it could not exiſt, if the will of one of the parties was in any manner laid under reſtraint; and therefore the Queen's choice of a huſband muſt ſolely depend upon her own pleaſure and inclination: that the pooreſt and moſt wretched woman in the kingdom had the liberty to chooſe a huſband to her liking, and conſequently it would be againſt all reaſon and decency that their Queen and ſovereign, who had neither father nor mother to controll her, ſhould be over-ruled in ſuch a tender point: that, after long and mature deliberation, her Majeſty had agreed to eſpouſe the Prince of Spain, the ancient ally of the crown: that this Noailles. Vol. III. p. 151.

match had excited great diſcontents and murmurings, under pretence of the Prince's being a foreigner; as if her ſubjects alone had a right to chuſe her a huſband ſuitable to their inclination, without any regard to her own, and without conſidering what the kingdom had to apprehend from its enemies, if not aſſiſted by ſuch a powerful alliance as the Prince of Spain. [*By theſe antient enemies he meant France and Scotland.*] But however, this gracious and virtuous Princeſs, willing to convince her ſubjects how deſirous ſhe was to give them ſatisfaction, had now condeſcended to lay the articles and conditions of her marriage before them, whereby they would perceive how honourable it was to her Majeſty, and advantageous to the whole nation.

He then required them to paſs a law, to inveſt the Queen with the ſame power as had been granted to Henry VIII. of naming ſuch ſucceſſor as ſhe ſhould judge proper.

This laſt article was not conſented to, nor many others afterwards propoſed; but the conditions of the marriage appeared to be ſo beneficial to England, that they were approved of without any oppoſition, which was what the Queen was moſt deſirous of.

Her ſpeech delivered at the cloſing of the parliament, was univerſally applauded; in which ſhe was interrupted five or ſix times by a multitude of voices crying out, *God ſave the Queen!* and every one promiſed that the Prince her huſband ſhould be received in England, with all the reſpect due to his birth and rank. Renard. May 6. 1554.

XLVIII. Upon this aſſurance, Philip arrived in England July 27, 1554. convoyed by a fleet of Engliſh ſhips of war the Queen had ſent out to meet him, and attended by a great number of Spaniſh veſſels, having on board about four thouſand troops deſtined for Flanders.

Theſe Spaniſh veſſels were ſo ſmall, ſo weak, and ſo ill equipped, that the Engliſh admiral compared them to muſcle-ſhells.

The Prince had in his train the principal nobility of the Spaniſh court, and among others the Duke D'Alba, Don Ruy Gomez the admiral of Caſtile, the Duke de Medinaceli, Don Cezar de Gonzague eldeſt ſon of Don Fernand, the Marquis de Peſcary, the Comte de Feria, &c. Beſides theſe, there were alſo three of the chief Flemiſh Lords, the Comtes D'Egmont

and Horne, and the Marquis de Bergen. Six Engliſh Lords of diſtinguiſhed birth came to receive him in a barge richly decorated, where the Earl of Arundel inveſted him with the Order of the Garter, and received his oath ſtrictly to obſerve the laws of the kingdom.

Only four of the Spaniſh nobility were admitted into the ſame barge; to wit, the Dukes D'Alba and Medinaceli, the admiral of Caſtile, and Don Ruy de Gomez, to whom the Prince ſaid, that from this day forward, they muſt forget all Spaniſh Cuſtoms, and embrace the Engliſh manners.

As he did not underſtand Engliſh, he always ſpoke Latin, and in that language was interpreted whatever was addreſſed to him by thoſe that knew only Engliſh.

The marriage was celebrated at Wincheſter, by the Chancellor, Biſhop of that dioceſe, with all poſſible magnificence.

XLIX. This match was unhappy. The Queen, who was extremely deſirous of having iſſue, thought herſelf with child, but was not: the court was imprudent enough to ſend circular letters to all the Engliſh Biſhops, enjoining them to cauſe *Te Deum* to be ſung in every church

Noailles, Vol. III. p. 141.

church of their reſpective dioceſes, to return thanks to God for this imaginary conception.—— Theſe letters, ſigned by ten chief Lords of the Council, contained alſo an order to offer up public prayers for the preſervation of a fruit that had no exiſtence, and to aſk of God a happy delivery of what could not poſſibly be brought to light.

The Engliſh, that doubted the reality of her being with child, made themſelves merry at the diſappointment; and a paper was ſtuck upon the Palace gate, the ſubſtance of which was, *Ye noble Engliſhmen, can ye be ſtupid enough to believe our Queen to be with child? and what ſhould ſhe be pregnant with, unleſs it be a monkey, or a bull dog?*

The gloomy and reſerved temper of Philip was by no means calculated to engage the love and affection of the nobility and people.—— He ſhewed more favour than his father had done to the Princeſs Elizabeth, who returned to court, and attended the Queen every day to maſs. He very ill requited the ſervice Simon Renard had done him in the affair of his marriage, who expected that Philip would do nothing without his advice; but finding he had not any ſhare in his confidence, he retired,

cha-

chagrined at the Prince's neglect and ingratitude.

Such, Sir, were the true circumſtances attending Queen Mary's marriage, which have been either omitted or miſrepreſented by hiſtorians. Moſt of them have treated this point of hiſtory in a very ſuperficial manner, altho' it is not only one of the principal events of Mary's reign, but alſo what ſhould be conſidered as the moſt important affair then tranſacted in Europe; ſince it tended, in ſome ſort, to add the whole ſtrength of England to the power of Charles V. which was already ſo formidable and extenſive.

It is only from the diſpatches of the French and Imperial Miniſters that a complete knowledge can be obtained of the various means purſued to bring about this match.

The previous ſteps taken, the different views, the particular characters of the Emperor and the Queen, and the various diſpoſitions of their miniſters, are therein ſo naturally painted, that one is ſometimes apt to think we ſee and hear them ſpeak.

Such evidence as theſe afford are the only foundations upon which an hiſtorian, who would

would give a hiſtory free from falſhood and ambiguity, can ſafely depend.

I am perſuaded, Sir, that, ſhould you be diſpoſed to a reviſion of that part of your hiſtory of the Tudors, you would begin by conſulting theſe valuable monuments, from whence you would gather many lights that may have eſcaped my obſervation, and to which the elegance of your ſtyle, joined to the force and ſolidity of your reflections, would add a beauty and value that I am not capable of giving them.

I have the honour to be,

SIR,

Your moſt humble, and

moſt obedient Servant,

* * * *

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